Race, Intelligence and Bias in Academe

Roger Pearson

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Introduction by

Hans J. Eysenck

Scott-Townsend Publishers
P.O. Box 34070
N.W., Washington, D.C.
20043

Author Roger Pearson obtained his Master's degree in Economics and Sociology and his Doctoral degree in Anthropology from the University of London. Having served as departmental head of anthropology at two U.S. universities and dean of academic affairs at a third, he is the author of several textbooks, including *An Introduction to Anthropology* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston) and an *Anthropological Glossary* (Krieger Publishing Co.), and is the editor of the quarterly *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies* published from 6861 Elm St. #4-H, McLean, VA 22101.

Hans J. Eysenck, of the Institute of Psychiatry and Maudsley Hospital, University of London, who contributed the Introduction, is a prominent authority on personality, learning and intelligence, and is the world's most frequently cited psychologist. He is the author of numerous authoritative books and articles, and holds two doctorates (Ph.D. and D.Sc.) from the University of London.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

In her presidential address to the annual meeting of the Behavior Genetics Association held in Honolulu, Hawaii, on June 20, 1986 (published in *Behavior Genetics*, 17;3, 1987), Professor Sandra Scarr, then of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, hit a jubilant note. She spoke of the widespread opposition to the development of behavior genetics during the 1960s and 1970s, and welcomed the fact that scientific research had since provided clear evidence that inheritance plays a major role in determining human behavior. Behavior genetics, she said, had at last become recognized as a relevant field of research which has vast implications for the future of humanity.

Opening her address in this congratulatory mood, Professor Scarr observed that:

> Some years ago, the late Michael Lerner, an invited speaker at an early meeting of this organization, gave a speech entitled 'Two cheers for Behavior Genetics'. The putting together of *behavior* and *genetics* would require, he said, more than just juxtaposing the two words. In the past fifteen years, we have put behavior genetics together as a field ... we have earned Lerner's two cheers.

She then went on to review "the history of ideas behind the current acceptance and the former rejection of ideas about human genetic variability in behavioral development" from the point of view of her personal experiences from 1960 to 1986.

"One might have wondered," she reminisced: "why any behavioral scientists would want to study genetic variability in behavior. Not a popular topic from either a scientific or a political point of view, such research inflamed public opinion from 1960 to the early 1980s." But the tide had turned, she claimed, and "the outcries stopped, with the exception of a few eccentrics, such as Leon Kamin, Richard Lewontin, Steven Jay Gould and Stephen Rose, who have audiences among the lingering social radicals left over from the 1970s."

To illustrate the politically-oriented persecution from which

many who were engaged in behavioral genetics had suffered, Sandra Scarr salted her speech with some reminiscences of her own experiences at the hands of Marxist student mobs, who rejected freedom of speech and scientific research in favor of selective censorship, as exemplified by the slogan "No Free Speech for Racists":

> The debate among scientists about human genetic variability has been acrimonious and lopsided over the past 50 years. Many of you, and I, have lived through vicious disputes and physical threats to maintain the idea that evolution applies to human behavior. What might have been an intellectual debate between behaviorism and behavior genetics turned ugly in the late 1960s.
>
> That was a scary era, in which Arthur Jensen, Jan Bruell, Tom Bouchard, and many others were threatened and attacked, both verbally and physically. It is a sad commentary on the 1970s that ideas, expressed freely in open debate, evoked terrible retribution. Just two personal incidents: mild stories in comparison to those that others of you could tell.
>
> First, Richard Weinberg and I were reported in the university press to be studying black children adopted by white families. Suddenly, one day in 1974, a large group of black students descended on my office at the Institute of Child Development at the University of Minnesota ... One graduate student in education said he was going to kill us if we continued to do research on black children. Another paced up and down in front of us calling, "honkie, honkie, honkie." It was not a pretty scene, but Richard and I kept our cool ... I duly reported them to the administration, but of course, nothing was done – it was not fashionable in 1974 to ask questions about genetic variability in behavior. Nor was it fashionable to ensure freedom of speech, even on university campuses.
>
> In 1976, Arthur Jensen was invited by the graduate students of the Institute of Child Development at the Univ. of Minnesota to speak on bias in mental testing ... I walked with Art over to the lecture hall, some distance from the Institute. As we approached the hall, a phalanx of radical and black students lined the path and spat upon us. I had never been spat upon in my life ....
>
> On entering the lecture hall, it was clear that negotiations were in order, because the Progressive Labor Party members and the black students were intent on disrupting the lecture. Sitting on the edge of the table on the stage, I negotiated a deal – 45

> minutes for Professor Jensen to speak and 45 minutes for questions .... Art gave a beautiful lecture. They asked asinine questions that showed them to be ignorant of the issues. Not to be denied, however, they stormed the stage, and I got the chance to commit the one act of physical violence in my professional life – I threw a young man, who was attacking Art's black-board chart, bodily off the stage and into the front row. He regained his balance and came at me; I cowered and Bill Charlesworth saved my honor by flooring him. The lecture had been heard, but we were all traumatized.

What were Sandra Scarr and Arthur Jensen's crimes? Simply, in Sandra Scarr's own words:

> The major theme that integrates all of the [behavioral genetic] research is the question: Why do people differ from one another? The question involves both individual and group differences. From a theoretical point of view, individual and group differences follow the same evolutionary laws of variation and selection. Group differences [e.g. racial differences] are only aggregated individual differences, albeit with a potentially different evolutionary history.

Rejoicing in the signs of a groundswell of scientific opinion which had moved in the direction of support rather than opposition, Sandra Scarr's remarks were well received, but as subsequent events have proved she sadly underestimated the extent to which the entrenched forces of Leftist bias remained able – with the assistance of a sympathetic media – to hold back the dissemination of "unacceptable" scientific knowledge to the public and to those who shape public policy.

Her address was given four years ago, but despite her optimism and the mounting achievements in behavioral genetics, the influence of committed egalitarians – mostly Marxists or extreme Leftist activists – remains strong. For ideological reasons, there is a remarkable persistence of the belief that environment is overwhelmingly more important than heredity. This is sometimes called "neo-Lysenkoism," because like Lysenkoism – the belief that acquired characteristics could be genetically transmitted – it denies or ignores the demonstrated facts of Mendelian genetics. These egalitarian idealists are supported by the entrenched political

interests of minorities many of whom believe that their claim to "affirmative action" benefits would be weakened were social legislation to be revised in accordance with modern knowledge concerning human genetics. They are also fortified by a Jean Paul Sartre type of Marxist existentialism which pervades large segments of the Western academic world, despite the denouement of Marxist-Leninist regimes in Eastern Europe.

It is therefore increasingly important that the public should be aware of the extent to which political activism has retarded research into the relationship between genetics and human behavior during the course of this century, and how objective scientific research in this area has been held back by such activism. Even now, when the real progress that has been made should be taken into account by our legislators and judiciary so that social programs of dubious value might be replaced by more effective solutions to the nation's problems, research which points to the importance of heredity is still being prevented from receiving the attention it so desperately deserves. In this work we shall therefore attempt to trace something of the history of scientific research into the connection between heredity and human behavior, which began soon after Darwin brought mankind out of the dark ages of ignorance. More particularly, we will seek to reveal the persistent and too-often successful efforts of Marxist thinkers to hold back the floodgates of scientific knowledge. What would be their purpose for doing this? Quite simply, they realize that contemporary research into the genetics of human behavior will eventually demolish the extremes of egalitarian behaviorism as propounded by Watson and Dewey, and the Lysenkovian pseudo-genetics on which Marxist science is built.

The propaganda on which Leftist ambitions are built depends wholly on the idea that human beings are *biologically* as well as morally equal, and that inequalities in the distribution of wealth are due solely to the exploitation of the "have-nots" by the "haves," rather than to the fact that some members of society are more capable than others. Furthermore, they realize that recent advances in behavioral genetics may be interpreted as defending "racism." In the traditional, non-abusive sense defined by Robert Gordon, professor of sociology at Johns Hopkins University, in his book *Taboos in Criminology*: "a racist is someone who entertains the possibility of there being a non-trivial difference, perhaps genetic in origin, between racial groups on some dimension of impor-

tance."

Recent advances in behavioral genetics logically call for a reversal of many laws and judicial decisions supporting "reverse discrimination," based as these were on false "neo-Lysenkoist" social science testimony which claimed that all peoples and all races were endowed with equal intelligence and equal abilities and that any socio-economic differences were due solely to "discrimination." Consequently, Leftist ideologues and minority activists have realized that once the public comes to understand that human beings, although morally equal in their rights, are not biologically equal (i.e. they are not biologically *identical*), there will be calls for a re-examination of the entire structure of elaborately crafted social and economic legislation that besides being an enormous burden on the economy has proved to be basically unsuccessful.

Sandra Scarr asked the rhetorical question: why should anyone choose to study the role of heredity in determining human behavior in such a hostile climate? One answer, of course, would be that true scientists are consumed by a desire to uncover the truth, so that humankind may see the world around it accurately and obtain a better understanding of the forces that shape our lives. This in turn would help us to determine more effective solutions to the social problems that plague modern societies. There is also the pressing need to determine the precise reasons why the costly U.S. governmental programs and court-enforced decisions intended to assist those who have been designated "disadvantaged minorities" are not working, since the failure of these programs would now appear to be due to basic misconceptions concerning the mainsprings of human behavior.

Contemporary race-oriented programs, designed to eliminate the "accumulated effects of past discrimination," have been based on the argument that the failure of some individuals to succeed in our modern society is due not to innate inability but solely to "prejudice" and socio-economic environmental circumstances. As a result, enormous funds are poured into a complicated and inefficient bureaucratic network of compensatory and affirmative action programs, not to mention burdensome and inefficient legal constraints on our economy, which are simply not working. Billions have been put into the unsuccessful "headstart" program – unsuccessful in that it has failed to increase the cognitive intelligence of those who participate in it. Similarly, millions of children are daily "bussed" to schools outside their own districts in order to

achieve "racial balance" in schools, on the erroneous assumption that poor-performing minority children will benefit therefrom. Affirmative action in employment, now a legal necessity in many sectors, ensures that less competent people will be promoted ahead of more competent candidates in tens of thousands of instances. Government contracts are given to minority firms who are often not the lowest or most efficient bidders, who in turn merely subcontract this business out to firms more capable of supplying the required goods. Unfortunately this increases costs, representing the middle man's profit, to the economy. All such programs are linked to racial quotas, and are based on the hypothesis that prejudice and other environmental factors are responsible for the differences in IQ between the races, and that crude affirmative action programs of this kind will ultimately eliminate these differences.

Science has now clearly established that the average black-white IQ difference has remained at 15 to 18 points for the past sixty years, despite all the costly compensatory programs which were supposed to have reduced if not eliminated the prejudice and discrimination believed to be responsible for the gap. Unfortunately, as some scientists have pointed out, affirmative action has merely moved some of the more competent and intelligent members of the various minorities upwards into socio-economic brackets where they will fail to reproduce themselves at the same rate as those of lower IQ and ability. Those less intelligent who remain in the lower brackets, by contrast, are more likely to reproduce at much higher rates. As Richard Herrnstein of Harvard has warned, affirmative action will lead to a lowering of the average black IQ over the course of time.

Failure has plagued the many programs based on "reverse discrimination" set in place since the 1950s, and scientific research now reveals the reason why this is the case: differences in intelligence are between 70% to 80%, or even more, dependent upon heredity, with other behaviorally significant human qualities being rated variably between 50% up to as much as 90 to 95% dependent on heredity. This being the case, the failure of remedial programs based solely on environmental adjustment is easily understandable. Yet large bureaucratic establishments and "beneficiaries' organizations" have built profits culled from such programs of redistribution – including even the immigration "industry." The vested interests who benefit financially from these programs include not only the beneficiaries of government legislation on these matters,

but also elected officials – and not a small number of entrepreneurs who have acquired lucrative niches in the system, not to mention the fringe political activists who have seized on the issue of race. There is therefore a large lobby that does not wish to hear any scientific testimony which would lead to a reform of present government policies.

The strong opposition by Marxists and other Leftists, whose political tenets are rooted in the concept of human *biological* equality, to research into race and heredity has prevented government funding of any research except where this is done by researchers who are likely to produce results which will support the present system of "compensatory" subsidies. Thus the system tends to sustain itself. Sixty years of suppression of unbiased research has meant that government officials and the public are ignorant of the true facts. Only truly objective research into the relationship between heredity and human behavior – behavioral genetics – can now clear away the mental confusion which prevails in the minds of legislators, judges and even the voting public.

When Sandra Scarr gave her presidential address she did not know that the battle for free speech on the matter of human heredity had still not been won. In the four years that separate her 1986 address from the present, the City College (CUNY), the University of Western Ontario in Canada, the University of Delaware, and even the University of London in England, have all yielded to Leftist student and faculty pressures, reinforced by adverse media publicity, to persecute honest scholars and in some cases to reject private funding for research into heredity and human behavior. Having succeeded in cutting off funding from government sources, the Leftists now seek to prevent even private funding of research into behavioral genetics.

Dr. Robert Gordon of the Department of Sociology of Johns Hopkins University effectively summed up the situation in a letter which he wrote to the University of Delaware on March 30, 1990, when that University (under pressure from the local NAACP, politicized faculty members and Marxist student organizations, notably the so-called International Committee Against Racialism [InCAR], as well as elements of the local media), refused private funds for research into the educational implications of genetic differences, and at one point even threatened to destroy the career of an eminent faculty member, Linda Gottfredson, whose research in that area had been published in prestigious academic journals.

Professor Gordon wrote:

> ... it has been difficult for Federal granting agencies, which depend on Congress for their budget allocations, to provide for research in this hotly contested area for some time. Accordingly private sources play a disproportionately large role, and are essential for maintaining the debate that is so essential to healthy science ... having largely succeeded in interdicting Federal support, activists have been after one of the last sources of private support that courageously operates at all in this intellectually taboo arena ...

In brief, although scientific evidence for the powerful role of heredity in determining individual and group abilities is now conclusive, and well known to those who specialize in these areas, those who engage in such research, especially where this touches on intelligence, are still regularly abused and accused of being "racists," "nazis," and "fascists." One would have thought such Marxist techniques would have died with the Cold War, but they have not.

The ensuing chapters have been compiled for the purpose of placing on public record some of the realities of this continuing effort to deny the significance of heredity in determining human abilities by Leftist ideologists – well-supported by the media – and to suppress any research that would deny credence to the imaginative assumptions on which their social and political philosophy is based. Some effort has been made to organize the material in chronological order, although many of the events recounted occurred concurrently. However, Professor Hans J. Eysenck, the world's most frequently cited psychologist who has himself figured prominently in this struggle, has kindly permitted the author to publish the chapter entitled "Science and Racism" which was originally intended for inclusion in his autobiography, but which never appeared therein. This so cogently exemplifies the experiences common to scientists who have been targeted by the radical Left for their interest in human behavioral genetics, that we believe the reader will find that it makes an insightful introduction to the account of the bitter struggle for intellectual freedom that follows.

As we have said, there is an urgent need for further research in behavior genetics, and for more extensive publicity for the findings of such research. Western societies are today failing to

solve their pressing social and economic problems, despite the burdensome cost of sweeping social programs which not only impinge upon individual rights but which involve escalating costs that promise to rise beyond levels which can be sustained indefinitely. We can already see that these policies were based on invalid social science testimony. Any advances in behavior genetics that will rectify these misconceptions will not only help those who *need* effective societal assistance, but may well help save both our economy and our civilization from the looming disaster that confronts both.

One word of apology. Most of the chapters in this book were originally written as a series of separate articles. These have been rewritten in an effort to tie them together in a meaningful sequence and to eliminate some of the duplication of ideas and information which was necessary when each article had to stand by itself. But this was not an easy task, and we hope that the reader will therefore forgive any instances of overlapping or repetition that may still remain. I should also like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to all who assisted me, in particular Professor Hans J. Eysenck, who contributed the Introduction, to Professors Arthur Jensen, J. Philippe Rushton and the late William Shockley for opening their extensive files to me, and also to Professor Dwight Murphey and Dr. William J. Andrews, for reading the manuscript and making numerous helpful suggestions. All errors and shortcomings, however, are mine alone.

INTRODUCTION: SCIENCE AND RACISM
BY HANS J. EYSENCK

In 1971, I published a book entitled *Race, Intelligence and Education* (Temple Smith, 1971); the American title was *The IQ Argument* (Library Press, 1971). This book was written because of the considerable uproar caused by the publication, in 1969, of an invited article by Arthur Jensen in the *Harvard Educational Review* (Vol. 39, p. 21-123, 1969), in which he emphasized the role of genetic factors in intelligence, and mentioned briefly the possibility that black-white differences in IQ (usually around 15 points) might in part be due to genetic causes. In the preface to his book *Genetics and Education* (Harper and Row, 1972), Jensen has described in detail the persecution he suffered as a result of his scholarly and fully documented article. He and his family received threats that bombs would be planted in their house; he was personally attacked, his lectures broken up, his invited contributions to scientific conferences shouted down, reviewers misrepresented what he had said, lied about the facts, and made him out a racist and a fascist. The police had to post a constant guard at his university office to protect him from attacks. He was unable to continue his research, as educational establishments refused him access to schools and universities. His life was made a total misery, for many, many years.

I wrote my book in order to introduce some sanity into what had become a political, ideological debate. All I did was to collect the relevant facts, and put them together, leaving it to the reader to judge. There clearly was no doubt about the poor performance of blacks on IQ tests; this is universally agreed. What is in dispute is the *cause* of the difference. As I pointed out, there is no direct biological test of possible biological differentiation; all the evidence must be circumstantial. There were strong reasons to interpret this evidence in genetic terms; but equally it was clear that the evidence was not conclusive. I have recently reviewed the evidence in a chapter on "the effect of race on human abilities and mental test scores," and find that although we now know much more than we did then, the result is pretty much the same. Here I will not

discuss the evidence, or raise the question of whether Jensen, or I, or Herrnstein (a Harvard professor, who also got into trouble over his advocacy of genetic determinations of IQ, but who never mentioned race in his work) was right; I shall be concerned rather with the events which resulted from the publication of my book, which, I had hoped rather foolishly, might pour oil on troubled waters!

Perhaps I should have been warned by the fate that befell Arthur Jensen. Perhaps I was optimistic in thinking that England was sufficiently unlike America to make reasonable discussion of fundamental problems possible. Clearly I was naive in thinking that emotional certainty could be touched by scientific evidence and rational argument. When the book appeared the roof fell in. The story is in some ways amusing, but it also has tragic overtones which ought to be taken as a warning; I hope to justify both statements in what follows. Obviously what happened to me personally is of little importance, and in any case was more diverting than frightening. I believe, however, that it has wider implications, and I propose to tell the story in order to bring out these implications.

In Germany, I had been a member of what we may perhaps call the "Old Left," in contradistinction to the new fascist Left which has come so much to the fore in England and in Europe generally, and the "Old Left" had certain characteristics which may be worth recounting. There was a belief in rational argument, in the power of reason, of persuasion; this was directly opposed to the belief of the (fascist) Right in power, in emotion, and in an irrational group-mind. We had our differences, but we tried to argue them out in cafes, in beer cellars, or on the streets; one could never argue with Hitler's storm-troopers, or his S.S. In addition, we were all agreed in a dislike of racialism, in a belief in equality of opportunity, and a hatred of exploitation. When I came to England I was classified as what became known as a "premature anti-Nazi"; England was not yet ready to see Hitler as a threat to civilized values. I have not essentially changed my views on that over the years.

As an academic, I then had to teach university courses on intelligence. I had no difficulty in telling my students that there was no evidence for genetic differences in intelligence between racial groups, and that the differences that existed were due entirely to environmental pressures and disadvantages imposed on colored and other groups. This was the orthodox position at that

time, and in all truth there was then little evidence to contradict it. However, gradually I came across more and more material that seemed difficult to reconcile with these confident pronouncements. If you matched black and white children in America, with respect to schooling, housing and parental status and income, this hardly reduced the 15-point difference in IQ between the races; it came out at 12 points. Worse, if you took the children of black middle-class parents, coming from good schools and living in good surroundings, and compared them with the children of white working-class children, coming from poor slum schools and living in poor surroundings, still the white children came out better on IQ tests – although now the difference was quite small. I did not find facts of this kind easy to integrate with my beliefs in the environmental causation of racial differences in intelligence, and I ceased to lecture on this problem – I did not think it was fair for me to give an opinion when I was in doubt myself.

As the literature grew and grew, so my doubts became more and more definite; I could not in all honesty maintain that environmental pressures could account for all the differences found, and yet my hatred of "racialism" made me most reluctant to entertain the belief that blacks were actually genetically predisposed to lower IQ levels. The publication of Audrey Shuey's great book, *The Testing of Negro Intelligence* (Social Science Press, 1966), brought my doubts to a focus. She reviewed the whole evidence in the most impartial manner possible, and left the reader with little doubt that genetic factors were probably implicated in the observed differences between blacks and whites. I re-read the whole set of articles and books relating to this problem, and emerged with the firm impression that Shuey was right. I also decided that having set my mind at rest, I would not myself publish anything on this problem – the blacks, or so it seemed to me, were having enough problems without me adding another one! But this decision was short lived. The publication of Arthur Jensen's monograph in the *Harvard Educational Review* brought the discussion to the boil, and clearly nothing could put the genie back into the bottle. Jensen is a good friend of mine; he had spent a year in my Department sometime prior to writing his monograph, and I knew him to be an exceptionally careful and gifted worker. I was pleased to find that his conclusion was very similar to mine; he too found difficulties in seeing any way in which the evidence could be made to say that *environmental factors alone* were responsible for the poor scores

of blacks on IQ tests.

The storm that burst over him was characterized by certain interesting features. In the first place, practically none of the critics had read his paper, or could have understood it had they read it. This made it all the easier for them to criticize what they thought he might have written. You cannot easily reply to this kind of criticism; as Dr. Johnson said of Shakespeare's Cymbeline, you cannot criticize unresisting imbecility. I do not here want to argue whether Jensen was right or wrong; truly competent judges have not found any serious error in his factual statements. But this is not the point. The matters on which he was publicly criticized – perhaps pilloried is a better word – were usually quite unrelated to anything he had in fact said. That much is easy to verify, and it is sufficient to make one wonder about the motivation of these critics, and about their aims. It seems that they set out to discredit him by any and all means in their power, regardless of the truth or falsity of his statements; this is precisely the kind of thing we had come to expect from the exponents of the Right when I was a youngster in Germany. To see it now making its appearance among those who claimed to be on the Left – the "new" Left, admittedly – was a great shock to me. It also came as a surprise to Jensen, who found his being pilloried (in some literature distributed by the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science, in preparation for a meeting at which Jensen was debating his case against some British psychologists) as a *segregationist* doubly surprising because he had just come from Washington where he had been testifying before a Senate Committee in favor of *desegregation*! So much for the social responsibility of this particular group of scientists.

It now seemed to me that in view of this continuing controversy it might be useful to publish a brief, factual account of the position, intelligible to the non-expert, and explaining in some detail the scientific meaning of such terms as "race," "intelligence," and "heredity" – terms which are used with rare abandon, and little accuracy, by many writers in the press and speakers on television.

Why was I putting in my oar? In the first place, Jensen had written a scientific monograph. His account of racial difference had been confined to just a few pages; and while he had given a simple factual statement of the position, he had (quite appropriately under the circumstances) not dealt with the wider implications and ramifications of the facts as stated. It was assumed by the news-

papers and journals which publicized the story so widely that a statement that there might be a genetic component to the inferiority of blacks on IQ tests implied many things – from segregation to genocide – which in truth it did not imply at all. Most of the protests in fact were against these hypothetical implications, rather than against the original statement. It seemed desirable to set the record straight, and to state unequivocally that there are two entirely separate problems here.

The first problem is the factual one: what does the evidence say about the causes of the undisputed black inferiority on IQ tests? The second is the ethical one: assuming that genetics play an important part, what shall we do about it? There is no implication of any particular answer to the second problem in the answer to the first. I stated categorically that even if it were true that blacks are innately predisposed to do badly on IQ tests, this does not in any way justify us in treating them on a racial basis, in regarding them as generally inferior, or in discriminating against them in any way, shape or form. It seems to me axiomatic that any person must be judged on what he does rather than on the basis of his race, sex, or religion; the existence of differences between the average scores of groups on IQ or any other quality is scientifically interesting and important, and may suggest better methods of overcoming the difficulties experienced by members of such groups. But it does not abrogate the right of any person to be treated as a person, rather than as a representative of a racial or other kind of group. With all of this Arthur Jensen of course agrees. It seemed to me important that it should be said, explicitly and clearly.

In the second place, it seemed important to me that another point should be brought out clearly and explicitly, namely the true nature and extent of the problem in question. Blacks on the whole have low IQs; in fact, as there are almost 10 whites for every black in the U.S., the total number of low IQ whites is in fact larger than the total number of low IQ blacks! As I put it rather colorfully in my book, to concentrate on "black dullness" is in reality a red herring – the real social problem is dullness as such, regardless of colour. We have built up a civilization in the West which stresses intelligence, knowledge, literacy, and in which there is less and less room or need for those unable to learn. This produces a gigantic problem which society has done nothing to solve, and which it resolutely refuses to face. What is to be done with all those whose

innate limitations condemn them to live through life with an IQ of 85 or below? Colour of the skin may be an additional handicap to some, but the problem is as real for those whose skin is pure white or grey-pink – it is dullness as such that causes the difficulty.

Given these two points, my third reason for writing the book was to suggest that, having recognized the problem, we should proceed to *try* to solve it. Assumptions that it could be solved along traditional lines approved by Left-wing advocates of Better Schools, Smaller Classes, and More Teachers are clearly disproved by the facts, and do not accord with the well-known importance of genetic factors in determining intellectual competence. I do not want here to go into the suggestions that Jensen and I have made in this respect; that would take me much too far afield. I merely want to mention this because critics have sometimes suggested that the publication of the book was "irresponsible," and served no purpose but the exacerbation of racial conflict. Whether it had this alleged effect is very doubtful; but certainly the purpose for which it was written was quite different.

When my book was published, comments and reviews began to pour in, and it is these which furnish so intriguing an insight into the process of attitude formation and the molding of opinion. Roughly speaking, reactions can be classified into four main groups. The first (and, unfortunately, the smallest) consists of accurate, factual reports of the contents, with suitable selection of the most important statements and facts in the book. In fact, of the hundreds of articles I saw, only one falls into this category; not surprisingly, this appeared in *The Times* of London. The author came to see me, asked a number of very pertinent questions in order to make quite sure that he was not misrepresenting my meaning, and then went away and prepared an excellent, truthful, and brief presentation of the main contents of the book. If only all journalism could be carried out at this level! The second category (and perhaps the largest) consists of treatments which trivialize the contents; inevitably this group contains most of the tabloid papers. Typical perhaps is the treatment given the book by the *Daily Mirror*; of all the issues raised, they chose to highlight the fact, mentioned just in passing, and quite irrelevant to the main argument, that the Irish score rather poorly on IQ tests! This caused a number of Irish navvies to ring up and threaten to punch me on the nose, no doubt under the illusion that this was a rational argument which could disprove my factual statement.

Several Irish papers took up the point, as did a number of letter-writers; their argument seems to be that there were a large number of famous Irishmen, from G.B. Shaw to President Kennedy – and didn't that show how clever the Irish were? Unfortunately those who argued in this vein had forgotten to read what I actually said – which was that the emigration of many of Ireland's brightest sons left those remaining with a depleted gene pool. The fact that many emigre Irishmen are very bright merely supports my hypothesis.

Trivialisation is annoying, but not perhaps terribly important; intelligent readers do not take such newspapers seriously, and do not accept the alleged factual statements and value judgements there given without a little careful checking. Much more serious is the treatment given to the book by the third group of papers – they simply ignored it, and failed even to mention its existence. The Germans call this treatment *totgeschwiegen* – killed by silence – and it is a clever and very efficient method of dealing with an awkward problem. This method was adopted almost universally by the American papers. It was clearly impossible in England once *The Times* and one or two other papers had given the book a good deal of space and discussion. It might be said that the book was not worthy of space in American papers, but this seems unlikely. The problem under discussion is, after all, American rather than English, and in fact there is direct evidence that several book editors of leading papers did not have it reviewed in order to save themselves endless trouble from irate readers. This is an interesting - but also a dangerous - way of dealing with a problem that is not likely to go away simply because we deliberately ignore it. If what Jensen and I say is true, or even halfway true, then ignoring the problem is only likely to make it that much worse. If what we are saying were demonstratively untrue, then it should be exposed as nonsense. No doubt one can kill a book by keeping the buying public in ignorance of its existence. One wonders if that is the proper function of responsible newspapers, and whether democracy can survive this sort of attitude. This particular act of suppression is, to be sure, unimportant; it is the principle on which book editors seem to have acted which is so frightening. One swallow does not make a summer, but do we really wish to live in a society where illiterate trouble-makers decide which books are or are not to be reviewed in *The New York Times*?

I do not follow *The New York Times Book Review* regularly, but I

noted the following description of it by Chandler Brossard in the June 1972 *Harper's Magazine* (p. 110):

> ... Its dazzling lack of credibility is by now part of our national heritage. It is joked about in the same spooked way Nixon is joked about ... A malevolent seediness pervades its pages. Nonetheless, it has enough power in commercial publishing to make or destroy a book, no matter what the real quality of the book may be. Most publishers, consequently, will do any amount of toadying to get *The Times* to be good to their books.

I have left the fourth category to the last; purposely so, because I shall deal with it in some detail. Into this category I put the honest-to-goodness hatchetmen: reporters who go about their job of discrediting both book and author for Sunday paper purposes. There is a difference between such men, journalists without any scientific background to a man, and critics who might disagree with the writer but do so on rational, scientific grounds; it is not the fact that criticism is offered which is relevant, but the manner and the substance of the criticism. I had not realized that such hatchetmen could exist even in such "quality" papers as the *Sunday Times*; my journalistic education had clearly been very deficient. Let me document my statement with some examples from the lengthy treatment my book received in this the largest of the so-called "quality" Sunday papers in Britain.

The best way of proceeding is perhaps by listing a number of "ploys" which the three writers of the *Sunday Times* article used; these ploys are of course not peculiar to them, but occur again and gain in the writings of many others. The first and most remarkable ploy we could call the "Hamlet without the Prince" syndrome. It consists of criticizing the book without ever mentioning the facts and arguments stated by the writer to be the most important and convincing! I have already mentioned one of these – to wit the fact that even when it is *middle-class blacks* who are being compared with *working-class-whites*, the white children are still ahead on IQ. Even more decisive is another fact, namely that *all* deprived groups show inferiority, particularly on tests involving language and cultural knowledge. This is true of American-Mexican children, Indian children, Puerto Rican children, Oriental children and working-class children as compared with middle-class children. The only group for which this is not true is that made up of black children

in the U.S.; they are much farther below white children on "culture fair" tests not involving language or cultural, school knowledge, than they are on verbal tests including such knowledge. This is exactly the opposite of what one should have predicted on the basis of an Environmental Hypothesis, and what in fact experts had for many years anticipated. Black children are deficient in the abstract ability called for by "culture fair" tests; they do much better on tests involving school learning. This suggests that by giving similar schooling to black and white children, the American system has in some way compensated up to a point for the generally lower ability of the blacks. Whether we accept this argument or not, one would imagine that anyone purporting to write an article evaluating my thesis would at least mention the facts in question; not one word was to be found in the *Sunday Times* regarding all of this.

The second ploy is that of quoting authority – or perhaps I should say, misquoting authority. This can be done very cleverly, so that even the authority in question might not at first glance see anything wrong. The authors of the article took me to task for stating that there is strong evidence for the dependence of intelligence on genetic factors, to the extent of 80% of variation in intelligence being due to genetic, 20% to environmental factors, a statement based on studies of identical twins brought up in separation from each other, comparisons of identical and fraternal twins, the IQ of adopted children, and many other sources of evidence. They then quoted Professor Donald Hebb as stating "that it is meaningless to ask which, [of] heredity or environment, contributes more to intelligence." Now Hebb never denied the great importance of the genetic contribution to individual differences in intelligence; as I point out in my book, this is the crucial point. The precise allocation of contributions is not important for my argument; hence as far as my argument goes, Hebb and I are in perfect agreement. Furthermore, when Hebb made this remark many years ago, available methods of statistical treatment made assessments of respective contributions of heredity and environment very speculative; modern methods have obviated many of the assumptions on which the older methods had to rely. Thus a proper quotation of "expert opinion" would give quite a different picture to that presented by the unholy *Sunday Times* trio which penned this particular indictment.

The third ploy resembles in its simplicity the first, but gives even more room for inventiveness. It consists of contradicting argu-

ments the original author never made, and disregarding his own assessments of these arguments. Thus, after carefully reviewing the evidence on genetic studies, and their relevance to the debate about black/white differences in IQ, I come to the conclusion that *no direct link* has been established between the two, and that we cannot conclude from the one to the other. This is what the critics also say, of course; but you would in vain look for any acknowledgement of this agreement in their writings. The pretence is made throughout that I maintain exactly the opposite of what I actually said, and that the criticisms made by my opponents are in some way novel and destructive of my point of view. This is of course good, unclean fun; it has little to do with impartial criticism and review.

Ploy number four uses time-distortion to give the impression of inaccuracy in my writing. In pointing out that many people do not want to know the truth, I mentioned in my book the fact that the American Academy of Sciences had steadfastly refused to support enquiry into the field of genetic black/white differences. My three critics managed to turn this into some form of paranoid delusion by saying that the committee which the Academy set up to consider the matter actually reported: "A majority of the committee has come to feel that the support and encouragement given to this field may be less than the importance of the field justifies..." True, but as it happens the committee reported *after* my book had been finished; even the most accurate of scientists can hardly be expected to prophesy what a sub-committee of whose existence he had no knowledge should report in the future! As it happens my critics actually fell into their own trap; the Academy accepted that part of the committee's report, stating that this field was of genuine scientific concern and interest, but refused to actually put up any money. The decision of the American Academy that research in this area was "respectable" scientifically should be remembered; as we shall see, other critics decided that they did not consider the problem capable of scientific solution, and hence decided that my book was "political" rather than "scientific."

Ploy number five is perhaps the best of all: it consists of simply attributing to me opinions which are the exact opposite of what I said in my book. The article in the *Sunday Times* stated that I make "an indiscriminate attack on attempts to improve Negro education on the grounds that the subjects may be too stupid to benefit from them." Exactly the opposite is true; I have argued most strongly in

favor of discovering better ways of improving Negro education than those which have led to the failure of "Headstart" and other similar programs. Similarly, I am supposed to believe that "ghetto inhabitants may have 'selected' their own environment as a consequence of genetically determined low intelligence." Of course no quotations are given to demonstrate that I do in fact hold such absurd views, which go counter to anything I believe. Invention is the mother of distortion.

These five ploys ensure that the reader will be unable to see what the writer did in fact say, how what he says agrees with expert opinion, or what consequences follow from it; he will instead be told a number of things the writer never said, and would actually oppose most strongly. To have achieved all this in the space of a single newspaper article suggests that the authors might confidently expect to receive a Pulitzer Prize for outstanding service to the cause of imagination – there is here none of that subservience to fact which so many literary figures lament nowadays.

In contrast to these curious outpourings of fancy by three London journalists having no expert knowledge of any of the disciplines involved in the discussion, there is the review of my book, published in the same paper, and written by a very eminent geneticist, Professor C.D. Darlington. Here, one might think, technical criticisms would come thick and fast; no such thing. The expert approved; it was the journalists who did not. Thus we seem to live in a rather topsy-turvy world, where expositions of scientific facts are criticized by journalists as not being factual, while the experts have no such complaints. Trial by journalism has been added to the usual pitfalls of scientific popularization; and it is difficult to gainsay one's impression that these journalistic criticisms are provoked more by political than by scientific objections.

What I have described in relation to the *Sunday Times* was recapitulated in so many papers that repetition would become wearying. Let me go on instead to the efforts made by Television to put this debate "in focus." The B.B.C. was arranging a series of *Controversy* programmes, in which one scientist, proposing some unpopular fact or argument, was opposed by half-a-dozen colleagues who listened to a half-hour presentation of his case, and then argued the latter with him. The whole programme was filmed before an audience of some 300 persons who had volunteered to attend (mostly students). The confrontation took place in the main

lecture hall of the Royal Institution, famous as the place where Davy and Faraday held Victorian London spellbound by their popular lectures on science. The talks were illustrated, diagrams and other visual aids being projected on the wall behind the speaker. Among the talkers were Sir Ernst Chain, Dr. Edward Teller, and Professor B.F. Skinner; my own *IQ Argument* was one of this series. On the seats reserved for the "opposition" (whose duty presumably it was to oppose) were three well-known geneticists, one psychologist, one sociologist, and one economist who had written on education. The sociologist was as well-known for his Left-wing political opinions as for his sociology; the psychologist was quite unknown to me, and as his only comment seemed to be that he was very interested in things other than the issue in question, his presence remained something of a mystery to me. The economist-educationist again was a Left pundit, with no knowledge of either genetics or psychology. The audience, when I came out to begin my talk, was mostly young, with only a sprinkling of middle-aged or older faces; there was also an unmistakable group of some 30 or so blacks, sitting together and not looking too pleased with the whole affair.

Actually these recordings are quite complex affairs. In order to show the glorified slides on the screen you have to move to predetermined places, and "cue-in" the cameraman by saying a pre-arranged sentence; this has to be fitted into your talk pretty accurately; you cannot, of course, read your speech, as this is said to go down very badly on television. Furthermore, the B.B.C. were trying out a new method of slide presentation, in which the screen behind the lecturer remained vacant and slightly blue in tint. The diagram or picture was superimposed electronically and appeared as if it were on the screen when you saw the whole thing on the television, but not when you were in the actual lecture theater; this means you had to point to details on the screen behind you which were not actually there. (The reason for all this was at the time explained to me, but escapes me now.) Anyway, I was pretty busy concentrating on my performance, and had little time to give to the audience. I was allowed to go on for about eight minutes; then the colored group of students began to interrupt, chant slogans, and shout insults. This brought proceedings to a halt, and I sat down in my chair, curious to see how the chairman would deal with the situation. (The discussion was not transmitted live, so most of the interruption could be – and was – edited out later.) The

chairman, a very famous scientist and Nobel Prize-winner, asked for silence, and tried to reason with the dissidents; he did not get very far. The students complained that intelligence measurement was all nonsense anyway; suggested it was all a conspiracy to keep blacks down; argued that it was wrong that I, and not they, was afforded the privilege of addressing the audience – in fact, apart from choruses of chants and shouts, they kept at it in this way for about a quarter-of-an-hour. The rest of the audience seemed to get rather impatient with the protesters, but their attempts to get the talk moving again could not succeed, of course: one person shouting can keep 300 others from hearing the lecture. Finally, the B.B.C. producer came to the rescue. He told them that there were six critics who would argue against me anyway; and he finally agreed that two of the audience would be allowed to join the "official" critics and give their opinions later on. He asked for students of social science to came forward, but apparently there were none. He finally had to make do with one who claimed to be a student of mathematics, and another one whose provenance remained obscure. I was then allowed to continue with only a few further interruptions.

Then it was the turn of the critics. The three geneticists had their say, and on the whole behaved in a rather academic fashion, making comments which in form and substance could be regarded as reasonable statements. Even they, though, fell into the trap which had been set by the very form of the program. A program which is entitled *Controversy* suggests that you should controvert, and when you agree with the speaker on 99% of what he has said, then you must make the most you can of the remaining 1% – preferably without mentioning the 99% agreement. This of course gives entirely the wrong impression – look how these "experts" disagree! Strictly speaking what the geneticists said was irrelevant to my talk, in so far as their comments were factually correct; they took up esoteric points from my book, which I had not mentioned in the talk, and made criticisms with which I would often have tended to agree myself. Only one made a really critical comment that was relevant; unfortunately he was wrong on a matter of fact. He suggested that in calculating our 80%/20% ratio of Heredity vs. Environment, Jensen and I had omitted to take into account homogamy, i.e. the tendency of intelligent men to marry intelligent women. Of course we had not made such an elementary mistake, and if he had looked carefully at Jensen's book or mine, he should

have seen that this was not so. To their honour let me say that all three critics seemed somewhat unhappy with the whole set-up, and seemed to realize that it put them in a somewhat false position.

The other three behaved in a different manner, leaving academic argument and reason behind, and adopting rather the methods of the hustings. Not for them quiet, peaceful discussion, aimed at understanding and rectification of error, if any – they preferred inflammatory political speeches, to the huge delight of the audience (or at least one part of it). These speeches proved, if such proof were needed, that none of them understood the genetic arguments involved; this did not prevent them from accusing me of presenting "shoddy" experiments, or from stating that the whole problem was "pseudo-scientific" – presumably they had not yet heard of the Academy of Sciences sub-committee, made up of the world's foremost experts, which has come to the conclusion that it was certainly worthy of scientific investigation. The reader will not be surprised that not one of the participants dealt with my main arguments in favor of the genetic hypothesis; in this they followed the lead of the *Sunday Times* to a man.

What was intriguing for me, as a psychologist, was the emotional force behind the speeches. These people were clearly consumed with anger, giving vent to a passion which seemed quite inappropriate to the occasion. Occasionally, this passion made them quite incoherent. I could only sit and wonder.

Then it was the turn of the two colored students who had been elected to represent the interrupters. What they said was, unfortunately, almost pure nonsense; one argument, however, should be preserved in order to give an idea of the Alice-in-Wonderland atmosphere they created. The "mathematician" stated that he had a perfectly logical argument to show that the notion of the IQ was absurd. Take God, he said. God has always existed; therefore his *chronological age* is infinity. But God is also all-wise; consequently his *mental age* is infinity. Now the IQ is the ratio of mental age over chronological age; infinity over infinity is zero, therefore God's IQ is zero, which is nonsense. *Ergo*, the notion of the IQ is nonsense. (The notion that infinity divided by infinity is zero is new to me; perhaps this is part of the "new mathematics" our children are being taught at school.)

Finally, the programme came to a merciful close, after I had had a chance to have a last say – in which I pointed out that no one had really contradicted the evidence on which I had based my

argument; all that the critics had done was to argue about side-issues which were largely irrelevant. I retired to the "thinking and preparation room" which is set aside for lecturers to gather their thoughts, and there I found a very passive, calm and quiet policeman who had been summoned during the interruption, just in case things got out of hand. "One policeman against 30 militants" I thought vaguely, but he obviously did not seem worried by the odds. Anyway, the whole thing passed off fairly peacefully, which is more than one can say would have happened in America, judging by Arthur Jensen's experiences.

I have now dealt with the reactions of the newspapers, and with a television debate; let me go on to an account of the reactions of students invited to lectures I gave at the Universities of Birmingham and Leicester.

The theme of the first was the contribution which psychology could make to our political life. Before it started, a group of students distributed a 4-page, single-spaced duplicated leaflet entitled "SEEK TRUTH TO SERVE PEOPLE." The theme was set in the heading: "DENOUNCE FASCIST EYSENCK, INTELLECTUAL PROSTITUTE PROMOTING UNSCIENTIFIC AND ANTI-PEOPLE IDEAS IN THE SERVICE OF IMPERIALISM!" The first paragraph will give a taste of the sweet reasonableness and the academic flavor of this broadsheet:

> In an act of open provocation against the working people and all progressive honest scientists, a fascist and intellectual prostitute, parading as a "professor of psychology," is coming to Birmingham University on the 16 November. The progressive Intellectuals Study Group (Birmingham) condemns the visit of H.J. Eysenck to Birmingham to promote himself and anti-people and unscientific ideas in the service of imperialism.

The broadsheet went on in this style (if that be the right term), producing priceless sentences such as:

> Wildly dreaming that the bourgeoisie will continue sucking the blood of the people forever, Eysenck does propaganda for the practical measures whereby the bourgeoisie can further manipulate the people.

Having thus introduced me to the audience, the writers continue their characterization:

> Eysenck is one of a band of sold-out careerists who are parading as writers, scientists, scholars, etc. They have come forward to prostitute themselves in the service of imperialism. Through the promotion of unscientific and anti-people ideas they are creating the ideological basis for the development of fascism.

Fortunately, help is at hand. Admittedly, "the fascist ideas will not collapse of themselves." But never fear; "they will be smashed if we (1) put Mao Tse-tung thought in command of everything, (2) rely on the people and release their revolutionary initiative." So now we know!

The Birmingham meeting was also the occasion for the militants to produce the oxymoron to end all oxymorons. On the walls of the library building they had written in very large letters: "Uphold genuine academic freedom: Fascist Eysenck has no right to speak." A photograph records this historic occasion: never before or since has my name desecrated the hallowed walls of any University building!

At Leicester I was speaking about "The Inequality of Man." Even though I had to compete with no less a group than *Led Zeppelin*, the hall was crowded. I was told that the "New Left" groups in Leicester had protested wildly against my being allowed to come and make propaganda for my "racist ideas"; as it happened I did not deal with race at all in my talk. This rather discomfited the large Communist contingent, but at the end their spokesman (or rather woman) managed to get out of this impasse in a truly inimitable fashion.

"I protest," she cried, "against this fascist imperialist Eysenck coming here, and not even having the courage to put before us his racist ideas about the inferiority of colored people!" To do them justice, even the more Left-wing students laughed at this turn-about, and the evening proceeded to its normal conclusion.

But worse was to follow. I was due to give a talk at the London School of Economics on the topic of the biological measurement of intelligence, a talk which had no mention of race in it, but concentrated on recent advances in electroencephalography, making possible the recording of brainwaves highly correlated with IQ. What happened is best told in the words of Professor J. Philippe Rushton, then a young student, who was present on this occasion:

I was in the third year of a doctoral program in social psychology at the London School of Economics at the time and was spending my days busily writing up a dissertation on the development of generosity in children. When I saw the posters announcing that H.J. Eysenck would be giving a talk on the latest developments in the physiological basis of intelligence, however, I knew that I would forgo work that morning to hear him.

In 1973, the London School of Economics was among the most radically Left-wing of all the universities in Britain. It was a time when the "New Left" was at its peak. Demonstrations against the American involvement in Vietnam, and against more local manifestations of "capitalist ideology" were ceaseless. Since my own behavioristic social learning approach to psychology had often been regarded with contention by fellow students, I suspected that Eysenck would meet with a great deal of hostility. Some students at the L.S.E. thought that both a genetic approach *and* the extreme environmentalistic approach of the behaviorists were "pseudo-scientific ideologies" used to support "racist-capitalist-imperialist exploitation" of the working-classes: Eysenck therefore was a prime hate-figure for he had offered serious arguments in favor of considering both genetic and learning-theory approaches to the study of personality and social development.

On the morning of the occurrence I arrived at the School around 9 a.m. Already the demonstrators were there. As I walked along Houghton Street and into the St. Clements Building (where the Psychology Department was housed), I was greeted by an angry chorus of "No Free Speech for Fascists," and mimeographed sheets were thrust into my hands. The demonstrators had lined up in front of the opening doors and were chanting the "No Free Speech..." slogan in unison whenever anybody entered the building. The mimeographed sheets alleged that Eysenck was a fascist who claimed that the working class and ethnic minorities in Britain deserved an inferior status because they had genetically-based lower IQs. It was clear that either they had never read Eysenck, or else were determined to totally misrepresent him.

My girl friend, Jeanne Grant, and I went early to the auditorium where Eysenck was to speak and found two seats around the eighth row to ensure a good view. The front row was already filled with demonstrators. These were readily recognizable by the large red Mao Tse-Tung badges prominently displayed on their lapels. I didn't recognize any of them as members of the L.S.E's own radical groups. I was informed by a colleague that they were a

Professor Eysenck attacked by Marxist students at the London School of Economics

working-class Marxist-Leninist cell operating out of Birmingham. I was told further that their "revolutionary action" involved following Eysenck around the country with the intent to disrupt his "attacks on the working people of Britain."

The auditorium in which Eysenck was to speak was soon filled to overflowing. Many of the L.S.E's own radicals were there, shouting and calling across the auditorium to each other. At this point the general atmosphere appeared primarily to be one of good-natured bantering. In a more somber mood were several African, Asian, and other minority students, standing in a group near the front, holding placards denouncing racism.

Finally Eysenck, accompanied by several representatives of student organizations, appeared through a door at the front of the hall. A great wall of booing arose immediately, and I had my first experience of the intensity of the anger and hostility that there was in that room. What followed resembled a circus. First a member of the Students' Union took the podium and *apologized* to the assembled audience for Eysenck's presence on campus. (Eysenck, at this time, was sitting in a nearby chair looking quite calm, with an air of studied patience.) The speaker vigorously attempted to dissociate himself and the Students' Union from the invitation to Eysenck to visit the campus. Apparently another student organization – perhaps the "Department of Social Administration Graduate Students' Society" had issued the invitation, and it had not been cleared by the main L.S.E. Students' Union. The Students' Union Representative continued talking for several minutes. After denouncing Eysenck he then described his *own* political views, and how they differed so greatly from Eysenck's. His self-centered pomposity seemed to restore same good nature, as there were a lot of catcalls, jibes, and heckling behavior.

After some 10 minutes the speaker asked the assembled audience if they would prefer him to cancel the talk and deny Eysenck the right to speak (which was apparently within his power) or would they prefer him to allow Eysenck to speak? Bedlam broke out as the radicals chanted in unison "No Free Speech for Fascists." After almost 10 minutes of this, a vote was finally taken with the overwhelming majority of the audience voting to hear Eysenck speak. Individual radicals, however, continued in their attempts to disrupt the proceedings. I remember one particular individual who repeatedly stood on his seat and shouted sentences full of block-busting phrases such as: "I am here to represent the downtrodden underprivileged people of The Industrial World, and the starving

millions who are being ground down by the blackbooted Gestapo of Capitalism, and the running-dog lackeys of imperialism, and I object on their behalf to hearing Eysenck speak." Statements such as this would then be followed by more chants of "No Free Speech for Fascists."

After a while, however, many members of the audience began to tire of these interruptions (and particularly of the above-mentioned persistent individual), and started to shout down, hiss, and finally, physically pull down the hecklers. The Students' Union representative then decided to take yet another vote as to whether Eysenck should be allowed to speak. This time a clear 80% or more people voted affirmatively. It required the passage of even more time and yet another vote however before the Students' Union Representative relinquished the podium. Upon leaving he asked the representative of the particular organization that had invited Eysenck to the L.S.E. to introduce Eysenck. This individual now took the podium microphone and was met by a hail of abuse, shouts, and finally hisses. He immediately made a strong attempt to dissociate himself from any views that Eysenck might be going to express. He stated that in his opinion Eysenck was clearly wrong in his views, but now that he was here perhaps we should hear him. It was in that rather dismissive manner that Eysenck was finally allowed to speak. All during this time, perhaps 30 minutes since entering the room, Eysenck had sat apparently quite undisturbed by the goings-on. Now he stood up and approached the long table on which rested the podium and microphone, and which separated him by about four feet from the front row of angry Maoists. Eysenck placed his hands slowly on either side of the podium, a gentle, perhaps even ironic smile on his lips, and said softly, "Well, I hope I'm not going to say anything too controversial..." That was as far as he got. Suddenly, a female, aged about 20, leapt up from the front row, ran past the podium, and pulled the microphone onto the floor. The auditorium exploded into an uproar. From my perspective in the eighth row it appeared as if the entire front row of eight or ten people suddenly dived across the table separating them from Eysenck. The podium came crashing down, and a scuffle immediately started. One demonstrator appeared to be wildly throwing punches at Eysenck who in turn appeared to be blocking them with his arms and covering his face. Few people went to his aid. Those at the front seemed immobilized. Those around me became irrational – either swearing at nobody in particular or laughing nervously. In a spasm of activity

my companion threw a lighted cigarette toward the milling crowd in the front. Somebody else threw a cup down. My adrenaline pumping, I personally clambered down the eight rows, standing on the backs of the seats to get there. By the time I reached the front several people were scuffling on the floor. By this time some people were jumping in to help, still others were trying to block the helpers. Believing Eysenck to be under the scuffling bodies, I and several others started to pull people up and push them to one side. At one point one of the Maoists came to attack me but fortunately other students intervened immediately. Then I saw Eysenck being hustled away out of the door. Somebody said that there was blood streaming down his face, from a cut eye because his glasses had been broken. Personally I felt outraged. It is difficult to remember another time, previous or subsequent, that I felt quite so much anger and shock. It was as though the veneer of civilization had been ripped away, revealing not only the raw naked passion beneath, but also just how delicate and fragile that veneer could be.

My friend and I went for a walk to allow the adrenalin to return to a more normal level. A few minutes later we were back in Houghton Street, with me rehearsing what I would say to the police. I was determined to go as an eye-witness and identify the assaulters. However this was not to be. The police were not to be called in; no charges were to be laid. Indeed, most L.S.E. students I met were either openly supportive of what had been done or else considered it all a bit of a lark. The whole L.S.E. was discussing it. Small groups of L.S.E. students crowded around the Maoists who, far from making themselves scarce, openly bragged of their "revolutionary action."

I believe few of the students realized just how much a threat to freedom of speech such incidents cause. When it appeared as headlines in the evening papers, however, many more individual students and student organizations began to see the events in a very different light, and expressed increasing degrees of dismay. I believe that even Soc. Soc. (the extremely radical socialist society that was in power at the L.S.E. at the time) went on record as "regretting" the incident. And so a very ugly occasion had come to a close. I hope, however, that it lives on in the minds of those who value academic freedom, for surely the right to seek and express the truth as one sees it, is one of the main indices of a truly civilized society.

Subjectively, I remember only one thing very clearly. When the attackers rushed at me, I thought: "Here at last is conclusive evidence for the existence of the Left-wing fascists I had predicted in my "Psychology of Politics," and whose existence had been vociferously denied by the sociologist at this very school of the University!" The people involved were very amateurish, and managed to hit each other rather than me; boxing had taught me how to defend myself. Nevertheless I was quite pleased to escape unharmed, (there was no blood!) and I returned to the Institute to get on with my work.

Sybil and the children were rather shocked when the papers came out with headlines about the attacks. It was the first of many later attempts to silence political enemies of the militant Left, and as such received much more press coverage than might be thought appropriate – even the august *Times* added its thunder to the accumulated condemnation of the attacks, which was pretty universal.

On the whole, the attempt to silence me was of course counter-productive. It made my name, and my theories, much more widely known than they would otherwise have been. Taxi drivers, passport control officers, and even spectators at football matches recognized me, and talked to me; the media came to consider me *the* representative of modern psychology; and in general I became the hero rather than the villain of the piece. The National Union of Students, a completely unrepresentative bunch of Left-wing extremists, denounced me as "racist" and "fascist," and banned me from giving talks at any British university: for years to come I had any such talks, on any subject, however innocuous, interrupted by a few isolated yahoos who shouted, played musical instruments, or physically made it impossible for me to continue – always very much against the wishes of the vast majority of the audience, who had come to hear me, and did not want to go home without having done so! The interrupters paid no attention to such democratic niceties as majority opinions and wishes, of course. I tried to get some sense from the President of the Students' Union, but he merely repeated the name calling, and when challenged to substantiate it by quoting anything relevant from my books, terminated the correspondence, being clearly unable to find any suitable quotations.

A year or two later I encountered similar difficulties in Australia. Jensen and I had been invited by the University of Melbourne to

give some talks on "Intelligence" (Jensen) and "Personality" (myself) as "Factors in Education." Some 150 police, many on horseback, were drafted in to protect us against a threatening mob, many of whom succeeded in getting into the lecture theater through forged tickets; they set up an endless howling of "Sieg Heils," and effectively disrupted the proceedings. In Sydney things were even worse. A fairly peaceful crowd barred my way into the University; when TV crews arrived and began filming, the crowd became much more violent and vituperative. When I finally got to the lecture theater, a touching tableau had been arranged of a "slave" led on a rope by his "master," no doubt intending to suggest that I was in favor of slavery! Bags of flour were thrown, which unfortunately hit the professor of psychology there, an unintended victim who suffered in my stead.

In the evening I was invited to give a talk on the history of behavior therapy, an innocent enough exercise, one would have thought, but not a bit of it! A threatening crowd of several hundred young students were gathered outside the main gates, which had been closed, and were guarded by some stout rugger-type defenders. As I started my talk, we could all hear the noise and the shouting; this was followed by the beating-up of the guardians, and finally the breaking down of the doors. At this point the chairman suggested abandoning the talk, and I was led up to the roof, and across it to another building, then down the stairs to a get-away car, with the yobs close behind, howling like wolves. This was as near to a Bond film as I ever got; it was quite romantic, but the thrills became rather less attractive as the danger approached more closely!

I received a full apology from the leaders of the Government at a special reception held in my honour, and had a chance to argue my case at a special TV debate. Nevertheless the whole episode left an unpleasant taste in the mouth. If these students are an example of the combination of high intelligence and advanced university teaching, may Heaven help the next generation!

What upset me more than anything, much more than these personal attacks on me, was the fact that my children were made to suffer by their teachers, whose Left-wing views led them to vent their outrage at my (alleged) views on the innocent. Whenever my name got into the papers, they would make pointed remarks in class, putting my children in an impossible position. Things got so bad that I changed my name by deed poll to Evans; this afforded

the children some protection, particularly later on when they went to university. When things quieted down I changed it back to Eysenck, but only Michael and Connie followed me in this move. Sybil of course was fully consulted at each step, and agreed with the course I took.

One interesting example of the absurdity of the persecution I suffered was related to me by Connie, who was reading English at the University of Sussex. In the course of her studies she had to take same courses in psychology, and to her astonishment heard the lecturer tell the class about the wicked experiments that devil Eysenck had carried out on his only daughter! Apparently I had put her in a large box, shortly after birth, in order to see how a child would grow up without interacting with her family. He added that the poor child grew up a complete nervous wreck! This rather surprised my daughter, who is as far removed from neuroticism as it is humanly possible to be! The poor loon had mixed me up with B.F. Skinner who had carried out some such experiment on one of his daughters. I actually met the lady in question, and can testify that she is perfectly normal, happily married, and showing no evil after-effects! This delicious, ignorant type of tittle-tattle, masquerading as factual teaching, is pretty representative of the Left-wing nonsense spouted by all-too-many militant lecturers and professors of what was laughingly called "social science" at the time!

Enough of these personal reminiscences. What sort of a general conclusion can one draw from these odd and variegated facts, and why do I feel that their impact is tragic? Perhaps I may put my standpoint in this way: We are faced with an unprecedented series of problems, each of gigantic and potentially disastrous proportions. Pollution is one; over-population is another; racial strife is a third. We clearly do not know how to deal with these problems; not only do we not know the right answers, we hardly know what proper questions to ask. In such a perilous situation, it behooves us to heed Sir Francis Bacon's wise words: "If a man will begin with certainties, he shall end in doubt; but if he will be content to begin with doubts, he shall end in certainties..."

Looking at the racial problem, we should begin with self-questioning doubt – can we observe any important and relevant differences between races? Can we attribute these to genetic or environmental causes? Can we do anything about reducing or abolishing them? No one knows for sure, and our best way is obviously that of critical and cautious experimentation. My book

constituted an attempt to survey what was factually known about such problems, and to suggest what conclusions, if any, could be drawn from the facts. I also attempted to suggest further experiments which might throw light on these intricate and difficult problems. My feeble efforts were greeted with scorn by those who already knew the answers – of course there are no races, of course blacks are as bright as whites, of course any putative differences are due to environmental factors. And, of course, anyone who dares to doubt these truths must be a fascist, seduced by the establishment into utter intellectual prostitution. No attempt here to argue the case, or to deal with the facts – this would be "bourgeois objectivity" which Stalin already condemned as counter-revolutionary. And, to be sure, if we *know* the truth – presumably through Marxological revelation – then the end justifies the means: burn books, boycott publishers and book-sellers, break up meetings, threaten and persecute those who dare disagree with you. Force, not reason, becomes the measuring rod of truth. This was the psychology of the fascists under whose rule I grew up in Germany; it has been taken over holus-bolus by the scattered troops of the "New Left." Is it any wonder that, to me at least (but I am not alone here), they appear nothing but Left-wing fascists, sharing with Hitler their creed of unreason, intolerance, and veneration of force?

In my view, it bodes evil for our society that these attitudes should be found among students, i.e. among those who have been selected specially for their intellectual ability, and who have been trained (or should have been trained) in the use of reason. If the best that such people can do, in reply to the facts I had gathered and the arguments I had put forward, is to call the book "racist" and to advocate that all would be well if only we "put Mao Tse-tung thought in command of everything," then God help us! One does not expect everyone to agree with one, but one does expect from University students that they should read a book carefully before condemning it, that they should formulate some sort of thoughtful answer to the facts and arguments contained therein, and that they should with some personal pride desist from the most vulgar sort of *argumentum ad hominem*. Equally the task of newspapers, particularly so-called "quality newspapers," is surely to put before their readers reliable information concerning recent developments in research. What is it but an abdication of responsibility to retire into silence, for fear of trouble (like the *New York Times*) or to misrepresent completely the arguments advanced (like

the *Sunday Times*)?

The rot has set in, and it has done so more insidiously than is generally realized. In the face of campaigns of violence, hatred and persecution many scholars have begun to mind their p's and q's, and dot their i's and cross their t's; that is to say, withdraw from acknowledging their real views and opinions publicly. Both Arthur Jensen and I have talked to eminent geneticists and psychologists who – in private – agreed with our views, but refused to be quoted publicly, for fear of repercussions. Worse than that. Some have in public said things which in private they would repudiate, and did in fact repudiate. This can easily be done, even without stating an obvious falsehood; you need perhaps to be a professor to see through the academic trick. Thus Jensen and I have stated that the contribution of heredity to IQ differences is about 80%; a geneticist could easily stand up in public, to general applause, and say he did not agree with that figure, and doubted that it was meaningful. When you talk to him in private, you discover that all he means is that no such precise figure as "80%" can be given, and that any figure is meaningful only when a population is specified – both points which Jensen and I have stressed particularly, and which are indeed obvious to any scientist. Thus complete agreement is apparently turned into violent disagreement, which is then widely publicized by those who oppose all scientific investigation of these problems. In science it is always possible to argue that "Not enough is known to come to any definite conclusion," and that "More data are required before one can commit oneself." This is always safe; and when you don't like someone's conclusions, these phrases, rolling trippingly off the tongue, will not only get you off the hook, but will also mark you as a careful, conscientious scholar. On these grounds you might just as well say that the evidence is not yet completely conclusive about the heliocentric theory of Copernicus, and that you are prudently reserving judgement. To be sure, one should not be too hasty to proclaim as fact what is still surmise, and neither Jensen nor I has ever said that the considerable evidence that has been gathered was conclusive. Nevertheless, there comes a point where many different types of investigation point to a particular conclusion, and this agreement should be noted and pointed out. Scientific conclusions are never *certain*. To state that our provisional statements about race and intelligence are not known to be certainly true is to say nothing but that they reflect a continuing scientific investigation, rather than some final divine

inspiration.

But what good can the publication of such books as *The IQ Argument* do? Many well-meaning people, far removed from the iconoclastic Left, have asked me this question. The answer is very simple. We wish to help the various disadvantaged groups, be they blacks, poor whites, Red Indians, or whomever. The problem is to know just how this can best be done, and the answer to this question is not obvious, but demands knowledge. "Head-Start" and other programmes were put into effect because many sociologists and educationists thought that through these means the scholastic achievement, and even the IQ, of deprived children could be raised. We now know that this hope was doomed to disappointment. Action not based on knowledge is futile, and may well be counter-productive. Take as a simple example the argument, heard so frequently, that school classes are too large, and that we should aim to have smaller numbers of children in each class. This sounds fine, and is accepted by most people as simple commonsense; yet the facts do not bear out the underlying assumptions. There are many large-scale studies, comparing the scholastic achievements of children taught in large and in relatively smaller classes. Careful attention was given to equating the background and socio-economic status of the children in these groups. In many cases, the children in the larger classes did as well or better than those in the smaller classes; the differences were not very marked, but tended to be in the same direction. If we therefore spent large amounts of money on reducing the size of our classes, the outcome might be to make things worse, rather than better. This is not to say that we should do *nothing*. It is simply to argue that we must first do our homework before we plunge in and spend untold millions. Research must come before action; commonsense, unfortunately, does not have all the solutions. *The IQ Argument* set out some of the facts we know, and suggested further research that ought to be done; it also pointed out some directions in which we ought to look for ways and means of helping the poor and the dull. If this be judged small beer compared to the heady draughts of Left wine and Maoist spirits, at least it has the advantage of being based on fact and reasoned argument. Perhaps these will indeed be judged as intellectual advantages by those not yet engulfed in the enthusiasms of a rigid pseudo-progressive ideology.

This, then, is the *trahison des clercs* of which I make complaint: that both students and their elders and betters have begun to play

a child's game of goodies and baddies, in which a man's work is judged, not in terms of its scientific content, or on any rational, empirical basis, but in terms of whether it agrees with the critic's preconceptions.

And my suggestion for the future is that which Sir Francis Bacon gave centuries ago in *The Advancement of Learning*:

> To have the true testimonies of learning to be better heard, without the interruption of tacit objection, I think good to deliver it from the discredits and disgraces it hath received, all from ignorance; but ignorance severally disguised; appearing sometimes in the zeal and jealousy of divines; sometimes in the severity and arrogance of politiques; and sometimes in the errors and imperfections of learned men themselves...

However that may be, there are of course difficult ethical and moral problems and dilemmas involved in the discussion, and the exhortations of militant Leftists should not preclude serious discussion of these problems. Note first of all a "Resolution in Scientific Freedom," signed by 50 eminent scientists, among them: Francis H.C. Crick, Nobel Prize-winner, Laboratory of Molecular Biology, Cambridge University; Jacques Monod, Nobel Prize-winner, Institut Pasteur, Collège de France; Arthur R. Jensen, Professor of Educational Psychology, University of California; Richard Herrnstein, Professor of Psychology, Harvard University; C.D. Darlington, Professor of Botany, Oxford University; and John C. Kendrew, Nobel Prize-winner, Laboratory of Molecular Biology, Cambridge University. The Resolution reads as follows:

> The history of civilization shows many periods when scientific research or teaching was censured, punished, or suppressed for non-scientific reasons, usually for seeming to contradict some religious or political belief. Well-known scientist victims include: Galileo in orthodox Italy; Darwin, in Victorian England; Einstein, in Hitler's Germany; and Mendelian biologists, in Stalin's Russia.
>
> Today, a similar suppression, censure, punishment, and defamation are being applied against scientists who emphasize the role of heredity in human behavior. Published positions are often misquoted and misrepresented; emotional appeals replace scientific reasoning; arguments are directed against the man rather than against the evidence (e.g. a scientist is called "fascist," and his arguments

are ignored).

A large number of attacks come from non-scientists, or even anti-scientists, among the political militants on campus. Other attackers include academics committed to environmentalism in their explanation of almost all human differences. And a large number of scientists, who have studied the evidence and are persuaded of the great role played by heredity in human behavior, are silent, neither expressing their beliefs clearly in public, nor rallying strongly to the defence of their more outspoken colleagues.

The results are seen in the present academy; it is virtually heresy to express a hereditarian view, or to recommend further study of the biological bases of behavior. A kind of orthodox environmentalism dominates the liberal academy, and strongly inhibits teachers, researchers, and scholars from turning to biological explanations or efforts. Now, therefore, we the undersigned scientists from a variety of fields, declare the following beliefs and principles:

(1) We have investigated much evidence concerning the possible role of inheritance in human abilities and behaviors, and *we believe such hereditary influences* are very strong.

(2) We wish strongly to encourage research into the biological and hereditary bases of behavior, as a major complement to the environmental efforts at explanation.

(3) We strongly defend the right, and emphasize the scholarly duty, of the teacher to discuss hereditary influences on behavior, in appropriate settings and with responsible scholarship.

(4) We deplore the evasion of hereditary reasoning in current textbooks, and the failure to give responsible weight to heredity in disciplines such as sociology, social psychology, social anthropology, educational psychology, psychological measurement, and many others.

(5) We call upon liberal academics – upon faculty senates, upon professional and learned societies, upon the American Association of University Professors, upon the American Civil Liberties Union, upon the University Centres for Rational Alternatives, upon presidents and boards of trustees, upon departments of science, and upon the editors of scholarly journals – to insist upon the openness of social science to the well-grounded claims of the bio-behavioral reasoning, and to protect vigilantly any qualified faculty members who respon-

sibly teach, research, or publish concerning such reasoning.

We so urge because as scientists we believe that human problems may best be remedied by increased human knowledge, and that such increases in knowledge lead much more probably to the enhancement of human happiness, than to the opposite.

I was asked by the British Association for the Advancement of Science to contribute an article on the ethics of science and the duties of scientists, with special reference to these events. What I wrote then I still believe to be right, and consequently the body of the text of my contribution is reprinted here in full. This is what I said:

It used to be taken for granted that it was not only ethically *right* for scientists to make public their discoveries; it was regarded as their *duty* to do so. Secrecy, the withholding of information, and the refusal to communicate knowledge were rightly regarded as cardinal sins against the scientific ethos. This is true no more. In recent years it has been argued, more and more vociferously, that scientists should have regard for the social consequences of their discoveries, and of their pronouncements; if these consequences are undesirable, the research in the area involved should be terminated, and results already achieved should not be publicized. The area which has seen most of this kind of argumentation is of course that concerned with the inheritance of intelligence, and with racial differences in ability; many even of those who acknowledge that Jensen's arguments are scientifically correct have argued that he was wrong (and that Herrnstein and I were wrong) in actually publishing the conclusions to which all the experimental work was leading. Stressing the possible hereditary nature of the IQ deficit of American blacks, as compared with American whites, might have serious consequences in jeopardizing the integration between the races, so earnestly desired by both sides to the argument; carrying out further research might offend liberal opinion, and lead to further dispute, strife, and even bloodshed. What good could come of work along these lines, it was frequently argued; the results would be of purely academic interest as both sides were agreed that there was much overlap in ability between the two races, so that each individual would still have to be judged in terms of his particular pattern of abilities, rather than as a member of a particular race. Better let sleeping dogs lie and studiously turn a

blind eye to such facts and theories as might impinge on the general belief in universal egalitarianism, and threaten its very foundations.

I believe that there are powerful arguments against this modern belief in the opportunist silencing of inconvenient theories, and the refusal to support research which might unearth equally inconvenient facts, all in the supposed interests of society. The first argument by itself, I would suggest, is quite conclusive; it is based on the impossibility of forecasting the social consequences (or even the scientific consequences) of one's findings and theories. It is impossible to read the history of science without becoming aware of the fact that even the greatest scientists were incapable of looking ahead even a few years and predicting the consequences of their actions. Both Rutherford and Einstein are quoted, only some 20 years before the manufacture of the first atomic bomb, as being convinced that it would be forever impossible to harness the forces of the atom either to useful work or to destruction. Both were quite certain of this, and both dismissed contrary views as "nonsense." In other words, the foremost experimentalist and the foremost theoretician in this field of science, both men of genius and stature, were unable to look ahead even a short time and assess correctly the scientific consequences of their own experiments and theories! Nor could they foresee that the atom bomb, once constructed, might shorten the war and save millions of lives; or that it might be fundamental in producing a balance of terror which has hitherto preserved a peace which otherwise might not have lasted anything like as long. Even now, after the event, we cannot be certain whether the construction of the atom bomb was a desirable and welcome event, or whether it was the beginning of the end. Nor do we know whether the other offspring of atomic research, the atomic power station, will turn out to be our salvation in the energy crisis, or a pathetic failure, to be supplanted by the use of solar energy, or some other scientific miracle. I do not claim to have the answers to these questions, and I do not believe that anyone could have predicted, a few paltry years ago, what the social and scientific consequences of the Cavendish work would turn out to be. But if the consequences of one's work are hidden in obscurity, how can we govern our policy in publishing results, or in continuing research, by reference to the unknown, and probably in principle unknowable?

What is often meant, of course, is something quite different, and I only mention this alternative to dismiss it without discussion. What many people mean when they require others to keep silent about their discoveries is simply that they, the potential censors, are convinced that these findings will have effects which they, again the censors, feel would be against the interests of society as they, the censors, see these. Usually the censors base themselves on some political ideology which has no scientific basis but acts rather like a religious dogma. Thus Hitler wanted Einstein's theories suppressed because they were *Jewish*, and against the supposed interests of "Aryan" science. Similarly, Stalin wanted Einstein's theories suppressed because they were *bourgeois*, and against the supposed interests of "*working class*" science. I would argue that self-censorship is bad, and against the best interests of scientific and social advancement; nevertheless, each person must decide for himself where his major allegiance lies, and neither I nor anyone else has a right to interfere. But the situation is quite different once we enter the public domain. For A to silence B because A feels that possibly B's findings and theories might affect society in a way which is contrary to A's social and political susceptibilities is intolerable in a free society, quite apart from the obvious fact that A's powers to predict the actual consequences of B's discoveries are unlikely to be superior to those of B.

Having got this general statement of principle out of the way, I would like to take the opportunity to illustrate two further objections to the restrictionist view by reference to the Jensen debate. The first point is that being a member of a given race has certain social consequences regardless of the scientific study of racial intelligence, but that a proper understanding of these consequences can only be gained by proper scientific study. Thus opponents of the Jensen point of view discovered long before he published his findings that there was a proportional deficit of blacks in American universities, and a proportional over-representation of this group in educationally subnormal classes. Thus membership of a given race was introduced into the debate long before Jensen wrote; it has been part of it for hundreds of years. The problem did not originate with those who tried to measure the intelligence of blacks and whites; it is the solution which may have originated with them. The fact of disproportional representation is undisputed; its interpretation is.

To many egalitarians, the explanation lies in discrimination;

blacks are equally able as whites, but they are discriminated against. The answer is some form of quota system (widely used in the U.S. under the euphemistic title of "affirmative action"); this has become law in many States and requires employers in receipt of Government money (which includes nearly all universities) to employ blacks and other minority groups (including women!) in equal proportion to their numbers in the population. To the followers of Jensen, the explanation lies in hereditary differences in IQ (at least in part; they do not question the existence of discrimination in the past, or the existence of reverse discrimination at present.) They would predict that the quota system would have disastrous consequences, being based on an erroneous theory. Thus clearly the theories in question are not of purely academic interest. They determine social action, and these actions may have far-reaching consequences. It seems a curious interpretation of ethical responsibility to ask one side to the controversy, namely, the side which has made a scientific study of the problem, and which can quote facts and figures to support its case, to keep silent and see injustice done, while the other side, which bases its case on ideology and preconceived opinion, is left free to implement policies which in the long run may be against the best interests of whites and blacks alike. This does not seem sensible. Surely social action should take into account well-established facts; if these facts are in dispute, then research should be encouraged to settle the dispute. This is the time-honored method of science; I see no reason why it should be abandoned in this case.

The outcome of this general quota system has not been documented very extensively, but certain features are already very apparent. Black students are accepted on the basis of much lower entrance requirements than white students; they have a catastrophically high failure rate; and they tend to congregate in separate groups which defy any integration with white students. The high failure rate has led to two interesting developments. Either black students are concentrated on new non-academic courses of the "black studies" type, or else examinations are specially marked for them on a much lower level. In some schools, the quota system has been extended to E.S.N. and advanced classes, so the many E.S.N. black children mix with other children in classes which they are completely unable to follow; conversely, average-intelligence black children are promoted into advanced classes where they are simply lost. As a result, children thus forced

into inappropriate scholastic streams drop even further behind, lose interest completely, and run riot, making education for all children impossible. The result, in one well-known case, has been a demand by black parents for segregation, and the creation of a purely black sub-unit within the school! Clearly, it is at least arguable whether the theories of the opponents of Jensen have such socially desirable consequences that they justify silencing opponents. However, I would not want to base my argument on Jensen's being right, and his opponents' being wrong. I would argue that Jensen should be encouraged to set out his views and theories, even if I were convinced that they were wrong, and subject to disproof. What is important is factual knowledge, and in the scientific field this growth of factual knowledge is promoted by conjectures and refutations, to use Popper's phrase. Nothing could be more stultifying than a restriction on conjectures, not by refutations, but by censorship. It should not be necessary to remind readers of the fate of Galileo, or the more recent story of the rise of Lysenko, and the silencing of his opponents; in both cases the temporarily victorious groups believed, no doubt sincerely, that they were acting in the best interests of society. And in both cases, they were shown to have been disastrously wrong. Do any disasters follow from the treatment that Jensen has received? I believe that very important consequences have followed from the attempts to silence him, and that these consequences are serious, and should be reviewed very carefully, quite regardless of whether his contentions are right or wrong.

The first consequence, of course, is that students are now unable to judge the arguments for and against on their merits; they are thus losing what may be the most important part of their training, namely the habit and ability to form such judgements independently. It is now, at the time of writing, impossible for Jensen (or Herrnstein, or myself) to address a student group at any British or American university, either in the form of a lecture, or a discussion with knowledgeable opponents, without the threat of physical violence, of disruption or of boycott.

Students thus never get to hear our arguments. Worse, they never get to hear the opposing arguments. Worst of all, they have no opportunity to ask questions, or form judgements, as is surely their right. Thus their intellectual development is stultified, and they become subject to mob psychology, to unthinking allegiances, and to ideological subornation. Furthermore, they become used to

seeing violence as the proper answer to unpleasant arguments, and censorship as a suitable reply to disagreeable facts.

The second consequence is on freedom of communication. At least, it will be said, unpopular arguments can be disseminated in printed form, even if they cannot be discussed in person. This, I am afraid, is a fond illusion too. When my book *The IQ Argument* appeared in the U.S., the S.D.S. (oddly named "Students for a Democratic Society") threatened wholesalers and retailers with arson and violence if they stocked or sold it, and as a consequence it was practically impossible to obtain the book in the United States. Newspapers refused to review it, so many potentially interested readers never heard of it. One famous professor of biology had his classes disrupted because, as editor of a scientific journal, he allowed the book to be reviewed by someone else! A well-known psychologist at first agreed enthusiastically to review the book, then bowed out, saying he did not dare face the disruption of his teaching and research that would be entailed once the students at his university heard about it. Newspapers tore the argument to pieces, hopelessly misrepresenting it in the process; thus most people base their views on an entirely false idea of what Jensen and I are actually saying and suggesting. This list is endless, but what has been said so far will make it clear that freedom of communication, in any real sense of the word, does not exist any longer for scientific facts which run counter to the *Zeitgeist*. The situation is slightly better in Britain than in the U.S., but similar threats have become apparent there also.

The third consequence is a marked deterioration of the quality of scientific work done in the area concerned. When the acceptability of an experimental result depends, not on the quality of the work, the rigor of the design, or the excellence of the analysis, but rather on the outcome and its acceptability to ideologically motivated students, then clearly Gresham's Law will be translated into science, and bad science will drive out good. This is already only too apparent; there is an endless string of articles being published of research which would never have passed the referees twenty years ago, and which are so shot through with faults of design, of execution, and of analysis that it is only the fact that the results are in the environmentalistic, egalitarian direction that ensures their publication. It would be invidious to list examples, but perhaps one such will do. Most educationalists have heard of, and accept, the work on the so-called Pygmalion effect, i.e. that

teachers will treat children in accordance with their apparent IQs (assigned in reality by the experimenter), and that in a year's time the children will now approximate these imaginary IQs when tested. The study has been universally criticized on grounds of design, execution and analysis; it has proved impossible to replicate; and it runs counter to a large number of well-done, well-analyzed studies. Nevertheless, this one study, in spite of its worthlessness, has become famous, and is universally cited; few educational arguments on IQ do not drag in the "Pygmalion effect" as if it were a fundamental, well-documented scientific law. Many other examples could be given; this one must suffice to illustrate the deterioration in academic standards and scientific excellence.

A fourth consequence is the deterioration of moral fibre of people working in such "socially important" areas. According to the scientific ethos, scientists should fearlessly speak the truth; in theory, truth is the supreme god to whom the scientist bows. The position now is departing rather rapidly from this simple belief. Both Jensen and I have received many letters from well-known biologists, psychologists and geneticists, congratulating us on our work, but adding; "Please don't quote me!" Worse, many people who in private have assured us of their agreement and support, change sides when confronted by groups of hostile students on the platform, and contradict everything they said before – only to assure us later that of course they did not mean it, but were acting under duress. Just so did many Germans become anti-Semites "under duress." The temptation is strong, of course, to keep silent for the sake of peace and quiet, or even to give lip service to beliefs one does not actually hold. But this temptation must be resisted if we are to retain a science worth having, and a university which presents the young with ideals worth pursuing. Even if the social consequences of our theories and findings can be said by some to be undesirable, the act of disowning them may have much more far-reaching and socially undesirable consequences.

As the astronomer, Carl Sagan, has pointed out: "In a time of trouble, the tendency of society is to constrict the range of accepted ideas. But just the opposite – diversity, heresy – is what is needed if problems are to be solved." This is the true answer to those who wish to constrain the free communication of scientific results and theories in the putative cause of "social concern." Social concern, however real, is usually time-locked, evanescent, temporary; the principles of scientific thought and action, the primary adherence

to facts and truth, and the eternal concern with proof and disproof, have a validity which the scientist forswears at his peril. He can and must be the sole arbiter of scientific fact; that is his profession and his calling. As a citizen he can and must be concerned with the social consequences of science; this is his duty and his right. It does not serve society well to mix up these two sides of his being, and to pretend to a competence in the prediction of social consequences of his own work which he does not in fact possess. The safeguards against the abuse of scientific findings lie in the democratic process, and eternal watchfulness; not in stifling debate, silencing inconvenient opinions, and pretending that things are not as they are. Universities as we know them, and science as we know it, cannot survive pressures which threaten to destroy their integrity. Society needs social concern and ethical involvement; it also needs facts, and the fearless advocacy of the truth. In these days, perhaps it needs the latter as much as the former. Personally, I would take my stand with Thomas Jefferson:

> There is no truth existing which I fear, or would wish unknown to the whole world.

Even when people agree with all these points, there still often remains a nagging feeling that all this scratching of the pustules on the skin of society has no real purpose, and that it does not contribute to solving all those ills related to racism and racial differences. This is not true, as a few examples will illustrate.

It is often suggested that the poor educational achievement of black children is due in a large measure to racial prejudice; the important IQ differences of these children, as compared with white children, are usually not even mentioned, although IQ is by far the best predictor of school success. But is this allegation true? In Great Britain, children of Indian and Pakistani parents suffer an equal or even greater degree of racial prejudice, as compared with children of West Indian parentage; yet they are equal or even slightly superior in school achievement as compared with white children. Thus clearly prejudice is not the causal factor in producing the disappointing examination results of black children. Similarly, in the U.S., there was much greater racial prejudice against the children of Japanese than of black parents, particularly at the time of Pearl Harbor; yet these Japanese children significantly outperformed native white children! Remembering the

special language deficits of Japanese, Indian and Pakistani children, this is truly amazing, but it does closely correspond with the respective IQs of these groups. Thus IQ is much more predictive of school achievement than racial prejudice, and this fact surely has important repercussions as far as helping black children to achieve better results is concerned. Instead of appointing special racial advisers to schools, it would be more helpful to research methods of teaching more applicable to children of low IQ – whether black, yellow or white! Jensen has made important suggestions in this connection, based on fundamental research into learning paradigms, and these may lead to more useful educational advances than the empty rhetoric of "racial prejudice."

The evil consequences of ignoring scientific facts, and believing instead ideological preconceptions, are well illustrated by the American "busing laws," enforcing racial integration by busing white children to predominantly black schools, often many miles away, and equally, busing black children to predominantly white schools. These laws, spawned by unscientific thinking and wilful ignorance, have had predictable effects, which have been carefully researched by Ralph Scott, whose book *Education and Ethnicity: The U.S. Experiment in School Integration* (Council for Social and Economic Studies, 1987) summarizes the many studies which have been done on this topic. He presents his conclusions as follows:

> It is perplexing that circumstances have worsened for literally millions of minority youths during a period which has witnessed the burgeoning of special programmes designed to help them. For more than three decades the entire structure of U.S. education has been dramatically reshaped so that race-conscious educational provisions might be implemented. Forced busing ordered by courts to bring about a racial "balance" in the classroom, not only brought about the virtual demise of the neighborhood school, but marked the first step in a process which has diverted schools from their historical emphasis on education to a new emphasis upon social engineering.
>
> As U.S. schools became racially "balanced," educators are forced to deal with large ethnic achievement gaps at the high school level: the average of reading and math scores for white students, for example, exceeds the average for blacks by as much as three grade levels. School desegregation has not reduced the magnitude of that gap. Within classrooms, the range of student abilities expanded as

large numbers of blacks were bused to middle class schools. It is not unknown, for example, for a tenth grade student to have trouble reading a third grade textbook while sitting beside classmates capable of college work.

Recognizing that teachers cannot effectively deal with the wide achievement spread within classrooms, which appeared after busing, school administrators frequently employed a practice known as ability grouping. This permitted teachers to bring educational materials and assignments more in line with the abilities of individual students. But critics faulted ability grouping as 'resegregation', and this charge was supported in the sense that disproportionately large numbers of blacks were placed on the lower tracks. Educators responded with political expediency: typically, ability grouping was abolished, and classroom and instructional groupings were racially balanced. Other race-conscious intervention measures followed: informal quotas on student discipline, on grading practices and promotions, on participation in extra-curricular activities, and in composition of special classrooms such as those for the gifted and mentally retarded.

A causal relationship exists between race-sensitive schooling policies and the worsening plight of many blacks. The destruction of neighborhood schools has weakened the essential bonds of home, school and community. The near demise of ability grouping has caused an inordinate number of blacks to unnecessarily fail to gain skills requisite for later employment. Ethnic quotas on discipline and suspensions have forced teachers to tolerate behavior which is most efficaciously curbed during the formative years. Unrealistic grading policies have led a large fraction of students to inflate their self-esteem and to consider disdainful those unskilled jobs which might offer opportunities for later gainful employment and enhanced self-respect. Racial quotas for exceptional students have so altered what is meant by the terms 'mentally retarded', 'gifted' and 'learning disabled' that such special classes have lost their original meanings. Uncritical promotions, ignoring students' actual academic competencies, have led to unacceptably high failure rates, and, in some cases, to the certification of unqualified professionals as verified by the high failure rates of blacks on teacher competency tests, which has inspired negative stigma. However well-intentioned, race-conscious schooling practices have therefore directly contributed to the 'nightmarish' problems of blacks.

The sensitive racial topics considered throughout this book are

> intended to promote rethinking of basic educational strategies. Blacks can only escape those new forms of servitude presently imposed upon them by their presumed friends if they perceive the actual consequences of these seemingly benign schooling policies. Black parents must be in the vanguard of those who work to see that schools reemphasize learning and instruction.

In other words, here as elsewhere, programmes designed to help the underprivileged have actually had the opposite effect, because of the neglect of available scientific evidence. These disasters could so easily have been avoided had those who initiated the social programmes had the commonsense to look at the evidence. A good heart is not enough when it comes to designing effective social action to help blacks or any other group that may be having difficulties; a good head, free from ideological preconceptions, is also required if the action taken is not to have effects directly counter to the intentions of its author. It is for this reason that research into racial differences is needed – no research, no facts; no facts, no successful action.

Rereading all that I have said here, I feel again the sadness that the whole controversy has inspired in me. We all want a better world to live in, but we disagree on the means. My view is that science and factual knowledge must play a part in deciding what is feasible, what is not; what furthers our agreed ends, what does not. Some facts may be disagreeable, but they will not go away. They constrain what can be achieved; they dictate the methods to be used; they often contradict deeply felt beliefs and attitudes. Life would be so much easier if only things were different, but they are as they are. Successful action can only be built upon secure knowledge. It is the task of science to provide such knowledge. To seek to prevent this process, or to take action on the basis of ideological preconceptions, is to betray the very ideals which decide our ends. This must be the justification of continued research in this field; only in this way can we avoid harming those we seek to help, and work out methods which will successfully aid those most in need of such aid.

1 / How It All Began

At the 1988 Annual General Meeting of the Eugenics Society in London, a resolution was adopted changing the name of the society in such a way as to eliminate the term 'eugenics.' All the other institutions established by Sir Francis Galton and Karl Pearson to advance the study of eugenics had already been subjected to similar changes of name and purpose, making the Eugenics Society the last 'stand-out' institution to disassociate itself from 'eugenic' concepts. The actual decision was delayed while ways were being found to avoid infringing the terms of the original founding bequests, which had been made with the clear intention that the funds should be used for advancing traditional eugenic concepts.

The resolution changing the name of the Eugenics society (which had been established first in 1907 as the Eugenics Education Society), to the more innocuous Galton Institute for the Study of Biology and Society, reflects the fact that while genetic science is progressing with astonishing rapidity, Western academe is still being moved in another direction – toward the suppression of all realistic attitudes toward heredity and race.

Coming at a time when genetic research, molecular biology and DNA mapping are making practical eugenics a real option, this resolution had far-reaching implications. Politically it represents the successful conclusion of a persistent drive which has perhaps been little noticed outside immediate scientific circles, to eliminate the term 'eugenics' from institutional usage throughout the English-speaking world.

Eugenics – the practical application of genetic science toward the improvement of the genetic health of future generations – had already been under fire for some time. A powerful, politically-motivated drive toward biological egalitarianism had already made the Eccleston Square organization the last surviving center of eugenic research, and of the several institutions established early in the twentieth century, the Eugenics Society was the last to retain the term 'eugenics' in its title. The society's prestigious publication, formerly known as *The Eugenics Review*, had already been supplanted by a new publication entitled simply *Biology and Society*, and the

editorial policy had moved markedly away from eugenic interests. Parallel developments had taken place years earlier in respect of the Galton Chair of Eugenics at the University of London, which had had its name changed to the Galton Chair for Genetics, to the consternation of the majority of the members of the Eugenics Society at that time. Similarly, the *Annals of Eugenics* had become the *Annals of Human Genetics*, and the Galton Laboratory for National Eugenics at the University of London had been renamed the Galton Laboratory for Genetics. Even in America, the American Eugenics Record Office had been closed down entirely, and the American Eugenics Society had been converted into the Society for the Study of Social Biology. Thus the resolution adopted by the members of the last "stand-out" organization, the Eugenics Society of London, finally eliminated the term 'eugenics' from established institutional usage in the English-speaking world on both sides of the Atlantic.

The Origins of Eugenic Thought

There is actually a long and significant history behind this reversal of attitudes, which has been euphemistically described by some writers as "the replacement of 'mainline eugenics' by 'reform eugenics.' We use the term "euphemistically" since 'reform eugenics' did not prove to be an end in itself. Instead it became merely a step toward the ultimate goal of fully eliminating the *concept* of eugenics along with the term itself. Remarkably – from a scientific, though not a political, point of view – the move to supplant the term 'eugenics' in favor of 'the study of biology and society' came at a time when astonishing advances in genetic research have made the sweeping goals of the early founders of eugenics theoretically attainable.

It was, of course, Sir Francis Galton who coined the term 'eugenics,' creating an English word from classical Greek roots, in the best traditions of nineteenth century English scholarship. Meaning literally "of good birth" or "well-born," the original intention of eugenics was clearly and unabashedly the goal of breeding a more gifted race. Its proponents believed that the Europeans, among other gifted races, were already of distinguished genetic capability, but they perceived that just as races differed genetically so breeding groups of individuals within nations and regional populations might also differ genetically. They concluded quite logically that some individuals and breeding

populations had genetically transmissible qualities which were intellectually, physically, emotionally and morally more desirable – whether judged by the standards of Western civilization (which placed great importance on intelligence) or by evolutionary needs – than others. They also perceived that not only did general intellectual and physical capabilities vary genetically, but that many physiological handicaps were also heritable. In the minds of the founders of eugenics, two approaches to the improvement of the "national stock" were possible. One has sometimes been called 'negative' eugenics, the purpose of which was to free future generations from avoidable genetically transmitted handicaps which brought only suffering in their wake, and the other was 'positive' eugenics. The prime purpose of the latter was to raise the overall genetic quality of the nation by ensuring a superior birth rate among the genetically better-endowed – or at the very least by preventing a decline in the proportion of well-endowed to less well-endowed – individuals from generation to generation.

Sir Francis Galton, a relative of Charles Darwin, Karl Pearson, the pioneer statistician, and subsequent scholars like C.P. Blacker – a medical physician who was also a former Etonian, a graduate of Oxford, and an ex-officer of the Coldstream Guards – were élitists who realized that large modern nations generally comprised a variety of essentially separate breeding populations or 'gene pools' which did not all reproduce at the same rate. They were concerned that the successful classes were being outbred by the less successful, who, they concluded, were the less-competent. In earlier centuries the feudal nobility had tended to produce large numbers of offspring (both legitimate and illegitimate), thus counterbalancing their heavy genetic losses in warfare, but with the coming of stricter monogamous practices and different social values, the European upper classes – who generally suffered the heaviest losses in warfare – were no longer replacing themselves. Contemplating the future prospects for Britain and other modern nations, they concluded that if any attempt were to be made to reverse or even head off a potential deterioration of the national stock it was necessary to ask which groups of individuals were making the largest genetic contribution to the next generation.

Steeped in the ancient European belief in the importance of heredity, Galton and his fellow Englishmen saw not only the subdivision of mankind into diverse races – which by definition were equipped with different heredities – but also the existence of

diverse numbers of smaller, genetically separate, breeding populations within the larger nations. While Marxists saw only an over-simplified self-serving division of society into "classes" based grossly upon the possession of wealth, Galton and other representatives of traditional Western thought readily grasped the obvious: that social relations were governed by more than merely economic forces, and that a variety of cultural forces determined who would breed with whom. Breeding patterns in simpler societies were regulated primarily by the prevailing rules of kinship, but those in more complex societies reflected a variety of breeding populations or gene pools. Ancient ethnic and national traditions, linguistic variations, ideological and religious loyalties enter into the causal nexus that determines human groupings in complex societies.

All this had been taken for granted by both European and Asian divisions of the hierarchically-ordered Indo-European speaking world for thousands of years prior to the crass over-simplifications of Marxism and Marxist-influenced philosophical and pseudo-scientific theory. Recognizing that few nations comprised a unitary breeding population, Galton and his contemporaries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries recognized that it was pointless to think in terms of the genetic uniformity of any modern 'nation-state.' If any attempt were to be made to head off the threatened deterioration of the national stock, one must think in terms of the actual breeding populations which comprised that stock, but which only infrequently exchanged genes across the social divisions. Physiologically, it was apparent that the various local populations differed slightly in outward appearance, as did the members of the different social strata in Galton's time. Although English society allowed more social (and hence genetic) mobility than was customary among contemporary continental societies, the general rule was for the members of any one strata to breed primarily with members of the same strata.

Galton was thus convinced that society was by nature likely to be led by those who were more intelligent and innovative, while the less intelligent were doomed to sink into the lower classes. Democracy was as unacceptable to Galton and his creative class of nineteenth century Englishmen as it was to the aristocracy and philosophers of ancient Greece, since the masses were ready prey for demagoguery. That is not to say that many of the intellectual leaders of British politics in Galton's time, as today, did not openly work to advance democracy, but many who did so either sought to

advance their own personal political influence, just as the demagogues did in ancient Athens and always will, or else were dreamers whose good intentions blinded them to the hard realities of evolutionary genetics.

Galton's experiences as a geographer in Africa – where he discerned that the various African peoples were not only different from Europeans in their inherent capacities, but also from each other – led him the more readily to perceive differences within European and even English society. Indeed, he lived at a time when the upper class in England, still unweakened by the slaughter of World War I, were still essentially "Anglo-Saxon" in character (a then-popular term which was loosely used to refer to all of "Nordic" type). Thus, at the Epsom Horse Races on the time-honored British Derby day, Galton, according to his own report, used his binoculars to study the faces of those gathered in the stands. Since the different enclosures segregated the onlookers according to their social class, he observed that the sheet of faces in the more privileged stands provided an excellent opportunity to observe the facial appearance of the English upper classes. As all heads turned as one, he commented later in *Nature*, that sheet was "uniformly suffused with a strong pink tint, just as though a sunset glow had fallen upon it." Here was an observation that demonstrated the genetic distinctiveness of the British upper classes of the nineteenth century, and also demonstrates to us today the genetic changes which have taken place in Britain, where the old landowning class, massively depleted by the murderous destruction of the officer classes on the battlefields of successive wars and almost totally eliminated by penal inheritance taxes designed to fall most heavily upon entailed landed estates, has been almost totally replaced by a new upper class whose faces are by no means "uniformly suffused with a strong pink tint," and who are to no small degree of non-British descent.

Galton consequently saw the genetic differences between both individuals and races, and like his relative Charles Darwin saw that these were linked to the evolutionary history of man – some races were simply more highly evolved in certain directions than others. He could also appreciate the deep concerns that moved Malthus, but nevertheless correctly feared that Malthus's call for a restriction of births would only be heeded by the more intelligent and responsible segments of mankind – and hence might have deleterious dysgenic effects, resulting in a decline in the overall

quality of succeeding generations. Quite correctly, as events have demonstrated, the call for a reduction in the rate of procreation has only been heard, and responded to, by those same, intellectually superior and morally responsible individuals who, Galton argued, should be producing more, not less, children. Those below the level of rational, selfless ideology do not respond to moral arguments for the control of population, and so Malthusian propaganda for birth control in fact works to reinforce the dysgenic forces which dominate modern society.

Ignoring his important contributions to the study of geography, meteorology and statistics, we should list Galton's *Hereditary Genius* (Macmillan, 1869), *English Men of Science: Their Nurture and Nature* (1874), *Natural Inheritance* (1889) and *Essays in Eugenics* (1909) as being among his major contributions to the study of the inheritance of human qualities, and especially of intelligence. Racial differences in ability actually occupied only a small part of Galton's publications, not because he did not feel they existed, but rather because Victorian Englishmen so firmly accepted the idea of the inequality of races – just as they accepted the idea of the inequality of individuals – that there seemed to be no serious threat to the British or to any other leading European nation of their day through racial mixture. Admixture might occur in some of the "outposts of Empire," but it was not deemed a threat to the population of the homeland – the breeding ground – itself. To Galton and most of his colleagues, the immediate threat came from disparate rates of reproduction between the national subgroups, each endowed with disparate genetic heritages, that comprised the present nation. As a result of the failure of the élite to breed as rapidly as the less capable, and the unequal genetic drain of such attractions as overseas exploration, empire-building, and colonial wars, not to mention the toll taken by tropical diseases – all of which fell more heavily upon the more gifted and adventurous elements – the preeminence of the British nation was threatened.

In an attempt to educate the British public to this and similar dangers, the Eugenics Education Society (later to become The Eugenics Society) was established in 1907, with Sir Francis Galton becoming Honorary President in 1908. Childless himself, Galton devoted both his time and his personal financial resources toward this and similar projects for the betterment of posterity, and was largely responsible for the establishment of a Biometric Laboratory at the University of London for the study of evolution, heredity

and human abilities. This was placed under the directorship of the brilliant pioneer of statistical method, Karl Pearson, himself an enthusiastic eugenicist and a close friend, colleague and eventually biographer of Galton.

Pearson remains renowned as one of the major pioneers of the science of statistics, with the *Pearson Coefficient of Correlation* as just one example of his enduring and substantial contributions to this essential instrument of modern science. As a perceptive scholar who was keenly concerned for the future wellbeing of mankind, Pearson took a deep interest in heredity and eugenics with much of his statistical research being directed toward eugenic research. Becoming director of the University of London Biometric Laboratory, he was the author of many notable books, including *The Ethics of Freethought* (1888), *The Grammar of Science* (1892), *National Life from the Standpoint of Science* (1901), *The Groundwork of Genetics* (1909), *Nature and Nurture: The Problem of the Future* (1910), *The Problem of Practical Genetics* (1912), and the mammoth series entitled *The Life, Letters and Labours of Francis Galton* (1914-30).

Numerous other authors began to write on the subject of eugenics. Notable among these were the English physicist W.C.D. Whetstone whose book (written jointly with his talented wife), *The Family and the Nation: A Study in Natural Inheritance and Social Responsibility* (Longman Green, 1909), helped to attract popular attention to the fact that dysgenic trends tended inevitably to lead to "the ruin of States and the fall of empires." Professor C. W. Saleeby's *The Progress of Eugenics* (Funk and Wagnalls, 1914) drew much attention from conscientious intellectuals in America as well as in Europe. And immediately after its publication, the dysgenic waste of World War I shocked reflective thinkers, including Havelock Ellis, who had already published *The Task of Social Hygiene* (Constable, 1912) and now wrote a number of articles, including "Birth Control and Eugenics" (*Eugenics Review*, April, 1917) and "Eugenics in Relation to War" which appeared as a chapter in his book *The Philosophy of Conflict and Other Essays in Wartime* (Constable, 1919).

Not unsurprisingly, since Marxism was not yet rampant in Britain, the logic of the eugenic ideal was readily accepted by Fabian liberals such as Bernard Shaw, as indeed by anyone concerned with the well-being of future generations. Even Kingsley Martin and Beatrice Webb saw the logic behind the eugenic argument, since their interest was not class war but the welfare of

the people as people – in much the same way as the American Herman J. Muller was to see eugenics as an opportunity to ameliorate the condition of those who were suffering because of their adverse heredity.

This growing awareness of the importance of heredity, which produced the Eugenics Education Society under the leadership of C.P. Blacker in Britain, also led to the rapid creation of a variety of similar societies in America. Among these was the Galton Society, which met regularly at the American Museum of Natural History, the Race Betterment Foundation, based in Battle Creek, Michigan, and various lesser eugenics societies in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Utah and California as well as in major cities such as Chicago and St. Louis.

With encouragement from Alexander Graham Bell, the inventor of the telephone, Luther Burbank, and Henry Fairfield Osborn, President of the American Museum of Natural History, these groups of conscientious and forward-looking citizens succeeded in establishing a national organization, and the American Eugenics Society came into being in 1923. At its peak, the society had local committees in some twenty-eight states, and in 1928 it sponsored a prize-giving contest (first prize, one thousand dollars) for essays dealing with the causes of the decline of "Nordic fertility." This was at a time when G. Stanley Hall, president of Clark University, was warning about the threat to white leadership inherent in the rapid growth of the oriental races – "the yellow peril" as it was called.

History has moved on since then, producing a population of more than 1.1 billion Chinese, and rapid rates of population increase everywhere in the Third World. This has led to massive migration of Chinese, Koreans, Filipinos, Vietnamese, South Asians and Africans into the countries of the Western world. The fears of the early eugenicists have become a reality. America, Britain and the nations of Western Europe are themselves being transformed into multi-racial replicas of the United Nations due to massive legal and illegal immigration and high birthrates that characterize the Afro-Asian and Latin American immigrant communities within these countries. The population forecasts of the early race-minded eugenicists have, in fact, proved to be directly on target. Thus, Lothrop Stoddard, a friend of eugenicist Henry Osborne and author of *Revolt Against Civilization* (Scribners, 1922), warned against Bolshevism's denial of the hereditary order in man,

perceiving that in Russia the Marxists had already slaughtered the more successful members of society in their opposition to biological reality – and Stoddard was totally unaware of what was to happen in China, where millions of the Chinese intellectual and landowning classes were yet to be slaughtered in bloody revolution. As Karl Pearson so truly reminisced in his *Life of Galton,* "the incapables care nothing for the future of the race or nation."

Responding to these warnings, the American Eugenics Society publications stressed the need for the brightest of the Euro-American stock to produce more children. Initially they condemned abortion as a method of restricting the birth of unfit children, regarding this as murder – unlike the British eugenicists, who generally favored abortion when justified for medical reasons. Instead, the American Eugenics Society stressed the desirability of the sexual segregation of the unfit, and selective immigration controls. Later, however, it dropped its opposition to sterilization.

But while the Eugenics Society in London was the beneficiary of several large bequests, the American Eugenics Society was generally poorer. It consequently had to content itself with the sponsorship of conferences and lectures including such varied public figures as Rabbi Sidney Goldstein, who lectured on eugenics and birth control, liberals such as Will Durant, who spoke on eugenics and civilization, and Arthur Morgan, head of the Tennessee Valley Authority, who talked about the socio-economic obstacles to eugenics.

The problem of encouraging the more prosperous members of society to produce more children was noted at an early date. Successful businessmen and society women lived busy lives, and seemed to find too little time to spare in reproductive and child-rearing activities. Also, the cost of rearing their children to the level of education that they felt was necessary was proportionately much higher. In one American Eugenics Society pamphlet, Elsworth Huntington wisely observed that: "it is hard to see how a perfect eugenics system can prevail until every intelligent married couple is able to have as many children as it wishes without lowering its economic status."

In America, Charles B. Davenport (author, among other works, of *Heredity in Relation to Eugenics,* Holt, 1911), appears as the most prominent of the early eugenics pioneers. A biologist with highly competent mathematical skills, Davenport was teaching at Harvard when he came into contact with Karl Pearson's writings and

realized the importance of applying mathematical skills to the study of comparative morphology. He thus became an exponent of "biometry." Leaving Harvard to take up a more senior position at the University of Chicago, he made a visit to England for the express purpose of meeting with Galton, Pearson and Weldon, and consciously determined to direct his future research to the study of racial qualities as an aspect of evolution, to examine these qualities from the point of view of evolutionary survival, and to examine the impact of biological change and the operation of selection under contemporary modern social conditions.

Efficient and energetic, Davenport was able to fund the establishment of The Eugenics Record Office at Cold Spring Harbor with a substantial operating budget. Aided by a team of students he had trained as head of the Biological Laboratory of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, he was soon able to demonstrate the operation of Mendelian principles in the inheritance of eye, hair and skin coloring, and to approach the task of examining heredity in living humans. Since experimentation was not possible in the same way that one could experiment with the breeding of certain animals, Davenport set about collecting an impressive array of genealogical material, seeking to trace not merely phenotypical qualities. In short, he realized – as most people of his day realized – that racial qualities were genetic qualities and that racial qualities were inherited qualities, and that races, to the extent that they existed at all, were separate breeding populations, possessing separate gene pools. Some racial qualities were readily observable in the phenotype, but populations which had been genetically isolated over long periods would be likely to differ in their genetic composition, at least statistically and sometimes specifically, in many ways other than those obvious physical characteristics by which their members could be so readily identified.

Like Galton and Pearson, Davenport thought in terms of what we today call "gene pools," and what was then called race. Indeed, Davenport was deeply concerned about the dysgenic impact of World War I upon the British nation (which had a strictly volunteer army up until 1916) as it suffered the loss of hundreds of thousands of young lives on the fields of Flanders. When using the term "race," however, we must always be on our guard, because the concept of race has changed through the decades, meaning one thing at one time and another at another time and place.

Essentially, prior to the period of massive European intercontinental migration and cheap, rapid travel, the term race was generally used to refer to any genealogically identifiable group. Thus, a writer could refer to an individual and "his race" referring to nothing more than a lineage. In Early English the word 'race' was loosely used as a term to refer to simple lineages and also to any population that customarily interbred within its own community – in short, to any distinct "gene pool." This application has a certain scientific validity, since post-tribal human societies (and even some tribal societies) tend to be split into a number of different castes and classes, thereby comprising a number of more or less separate breeding pools, which are the fundamental basis of the concept of race to this day.

Unfortunately, nineteenth century travellers, noting the many varieties of man that explorers and missionaries found around the world, quite naturally attempted to discover patterns in the complex variety of racial units they discovered. Quite logically they began to group these into clearly related stocks. Using the term 'race' in a Weberian sense of "ideal type," they sought to identify a specific number of "races of mankind" which could be identified in the context of a specific variety of externally observable phenotypical qualities, and assumed (not altogether unjustly) that these represented originally quite separate varieties of man which through genetic admixture in the geographically intermediate areas had produced the various intermediate varieties (or what they called sub-races) that made up the living "races of man." In short, the term "race" came to be applied not simply to a man, his relatives and their ancestors, but to a seemingly identifiable number of major races, *e.g.* white, yellow, brown and black, or Caucasoid, Mongoloid, Australoid and Negroid.

While such broad attempts at Weberian classification play a useful role in biological science, the new use of the term 'race' has in fact led to many misconceptions and can easily result in confused thinking – the more so since the general public readily tends to identify individuals by their most observable physical attributes, and to allocate hybrids to one or the other stock, without concern for their actual hybrid genetic status. As miscegenation continues in the Western world, and individuals unaffected by the advance of hybridization become increasingly a smaller percentage of our population, this use of the term 'race' obviously leads to sweeping generalizations that can be misleading. This

becomes increasingly apparent in the United States, where individuals – often of mixed race – are allowed to identify themselves as being members of whatever race they elect to choose, and then are included in the statistical data of the racial group they have selected. It is well known, for example, that in the United States large numbers of American blacks "pass over" each year into the "white" population, that successful blacks often marry white women, and that there is increasing intermarriage between Asians and whites. The same trends are at work in Britain and other (now) mixed-race societies. Those who collect statistics on IQ seldom attempt to distinguish between individuals of unmixed racial descent and those of mixed descent when they attempt to classify multi-ethnic populations into their component elements, usually recording the respondents as belonging to either one category or the other on the basis of the subject's own arbitrary response. This methodological laxity may well contribute to the overlap of scores between the racial groups under study. While the Japanese have experienced little admixture with the descendants of tropical races, statistics of the IQ of American and British white populations are now muddied by the inclusion of many who are not of pure white descent, and this makes comparisons between the IQ scores of Japanese and Chinese, for example, with contemporary "whites" somewhat misleading so far as true racial comparisons are concerned. Similarly, some strata of Afro-American society contain a substantial admixture of white Caucasoid genes, and this makes it difficult to compare their IQ scores with those of the West African countries from whence their ancestors came.

Despite the enthusiasm of their supporters, however, the American eugenics movement failed to attract substantial funding. While both the University of Michigan and the University of Minnesota received substantial bequests from individuals seeking to promote race betterment or "genetic hygiene," in university hands these funds were easily diverted to other purposes. Thus in 1971, Frederick Osborne wrote a history of the American Eugenics movement (which was never published), in which he ruefully noted that "the American public ... does not care to envisage the possibility that individuals are born with different genetic potentials ..."

Eventually, as with the Eugenics Society in London, since membership was open to all who cared to join, the American Eugenics Society became increasingly infiltrated by those who did not support its original ideals, and in 1972 it was transformed into

"The Society for the Study of Human Biology."

The Opponents of Eugenics

It was only a few short years after the establishment of the British Eugenics Society that World War I broke out, destroying the flower of the youth of Europe – in most cases before they had had the chance to produce children. The children of the ruling classes of all the major European nations were the first to fall in combat, a dysgenic selection of the heaviest nature which changed the political and biological destiny of Europe for all time.

The terrible and highly selective bloodletting of World War I had a dual and somewhat contradictory impact on the new ideal of eugenics. On the one hand, when European nations lost virtually an entire generation of young men (leaving behind them sisters who could often find no socially suitable survivors with whom they could procreate) meant that there was a new enthusiasm for eugenics among this class, but the numerical weakening of the class also meant that political power was slipping even further from their hands. By contrast, the rest of society saw no attraction in a eugenic ideal which lauded a leadership class, the remnants of which they were now able to supplant.

Even among the talented British merchant classes there had been, since at least the seventeenth century, a deeply-rooted equalitarian ethos among some of the more extreme Protestant movements, most notably the Society of Friends or Quakers. Descendants of the Puritans of the seventeenth century, who had rebelled against the King and Catholic-leaning aristocracy in the Seventeenth Century (when some among them even called themselves 'The Levellers'), the Quaker idealists had been a major force behind the movement to abolish slavery in all corners of the world. Consequently it is not surprising that in the 1920s and 1930s many of those who led the attack on hereditarians as élitists – attacking especially the eugenic vision of Galton and Pearson – were influenced by similar liberal, often directly Quaker, ideals. These were reinforced by intellectuals interested in the new creed of Marxism, which was attracting attention because of its successful revolutionary maneuvers in Eastern Europe, and a number of educated Englishmen now broke away from their national culture to affiliate with Marxism. Although it was Marxism that was to lead the struggle against eugenic and hereditarian ideals, the early

ground was prepared for Marxism by religious egalitarianism.

Thus the main resistance to eugenic ideals came from the ideology of egalitarianism which was rapidly gaining ground throughout Europe. Socialism and Communism were becoming increasingly popular, not merely among the masses, but more notably within a significant element of the new intelligentsia that was winning influence in the academic world.

The Impact of World War I

The aftermath of World War I saw the demise of the *ancien régime*, not only in Britain but virtually throughout Europe. Dramatic changes also took place in the British educational scene, both in the schools and the universities. The more nationalistic, patriotic, and élitist-minded elements of the population had tended to volunteer generously for active military service in that most futile and genetically destructive of all conflicts. The British government maintained a policy of a volunteer-only army for the first two years of the war, until the hundreds of thousands of mortalities made conscription a necessity. Those first two years of virtual genocide predestined the entire structure of British society to dramatic changes, both social and genetic. Even after the introduction of conscription made compulsory military service broadly obligatory, the toll of war continued to fall unevenly, since the less proud members of the population were often able to escape the bloodletting by simply claiming exemption from combat service on medical or religious grounds, or by simply finding employment, either inside the military or out, in positions where their lives would not be at risk. In general, it would be true to say that the self-image of those who prided themselves in their superior birth required that they expose themselves, before all others, to the dangers of the front line. And as the ancient Hebrews observed so wisely, those that live by the sword are also likely to perish by the sword – whereas "the meek" have a better chance of living to inherit the earth after the more military-minded of the nation had fallen in battle.

This truth is particularly illustrated by the case of those who as "conscientious objectors" to warfare had brought their younger generation virtually unscathed through the tremendous bloodletting of World War I, ready to play an enhanced role in post-World War I Britain. By contrast, the eugenicists, who might have been expected to oppose such wanton genetic destruction, were

generally drawn from the foremost patriotic families of Britain, and it was these families who were the most severely depleted on the battlefields of Flanders.

Fearful of the genetic losses incurred during this terrible "Great War" as it was justly called, many of the old-style mainline eugenicists now argued strongly that Britain must, as a nation, introduce positive eugenic measures to preserve its racial strength, and those who looked at the biological or genetic picture strenuously argued that if leadership qualities were at all heritable, then the war spelt doom for Europe. While few traditional mainline eugenicists were inclined to repudiate patriotism, many could see the foolishness of World War I, which had pitted the best of Europe against each other, and these realized that patriotism should not be blind to biological concerns. A war which pitted closely related nations and peoples against each other, and destroyed the flower of each nation's youth before they had had the opportunity to procreate, was not a patriotic but a fratricidal war. It was a war which could not possibly benefit any of the participating nations, no matter which was victorious. But those who would normally have been inclined to take an interest in preserving the best in their nation's genetic heritage were now depleted in numbers by the War, and the only elements that had gained in any way from World War I were the revolutionaries. These saw in the destruction of the old order the opening of an avenue to power – and they were certainly not likely to favor eugenic ideals which would protect the ranks of the traditional élites whom they now at long last hoped to overthrow. Consequently, the post-World War I setting saw the former leaders of Russia, ranging from the nobility to the more prosperous kulak farmers, overthrown and massacred, with the corresponding elements of Central Europe decimated and rendered politically powerless, and those of Britain severely weakened and intellectually atrophied by egalitarian propaganda.

For a thought-provoking analysis of the dysgenic impact of World War I, and of war in general, the reader is referred to the book *War and the Breed*, originally written by David Starr Jordan, Chancellor of Stanford, but still available in a modern version edited by J.W. Jamieson (Cliveden Press, 1988). The author's pacifist sentiments in no way weaken the veracity of his observations upon the dysgenic nature of modern warfare and its doleful impact on the West.

J. B. S. Haldane

Interestingly, one of the most colorful personalities who participated in the demolition of traditional eugenic ideals of a strong and healthy national stock, and in the general reshaping of post-World War attitudes in Britain, was not a member of the "down-trodden" classes, but rather a scion of the ruling class, who had become indoctrinated with Marxist propaganda during his educational years and for purely ideological reasons became a voluntary ally and hero of the revolutionary elements. Educated at Eton, Haldane might have been expected to follow a traditional line of thought, but due to changes in the constitution of their teaching staff (with an almost constant influx of continental revolutionary intellectuals into Britain with each failed Marxist uprising during the pre-World War I years) the élite schools especially had already become infected by Marxist thought – often quite unknown to the parents who sent their sons to the boarding schools they themselves had attended, thereby handing their education over to persons about whom they really knew very little.

It has been said that the fortunes of Rome changed once Romans ceased to educate their own children, and introduced educated Greek slaves, with alien ideas, as tutors. Yet at least the Romans still raised their children in their own homes until they were grown and married. By contrast, in Britain since the eighteenth century it had become the custom of members of the British landowning class to send their sons away to be educated at boarding schools, rather than to attempt to rear them in the rural isolation of their country estates. This created no problem as long as the schoolteachers were mostly clergymen recruited from the privileged scions of the same landed class – but as times changed the familial and cultural unity between the gentry and the educators was broken, the latter falling increasingly under the influence of an immigrant Leftist intelligentsia who fled to Britain after each failed revolution on the continent. The new ideas held by this changing class of schoolteachers were quite easily insinuated into the consciousness of young boys who, as boarders, were totally under the influence of their schools for the larger part of the year. In consequence, it is ironically true that liberal and Marxist ideas tended to spread more readily among the children of the wealthier families than among the children of less well-to-do parents who lived at home, under the influence of their families, and only attended school on a day-to-day basis.

True to the traditions of his class in one matter, Haldane volunteered for front line service in World War I and served with considerable distinction. Surviving the war, he nevertheless began to put his Leftist ideals into practice. Volunteering to help the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War, he became closely associated with a broad assortment of anarchists, and Marxists and Far Left socialists. He married a Communist Party member, and actually joined the Communist Party during World War II – at the peak of his influence in British intellectual circles – when Britain had just entered into a wartime alliance with Stalin's Marxist empire in the common effort to destroy a racist Germany.

Nevertheless, as a sincere biologist, Haldane recognized the import of Mendelian theory, and shared with Herman J. Muller, the American Marxist, a belief that was to become heresy to later Marxists – a belief in the importance of heredity in determining behavioral potential. Loyal to the principles of Mendelian genetics, Muller and Haldane believed that an egalitarian society could only be built by raising the less capable in society (by eugenics measures) to a level of competence in which they could be regarded as the equals of the more competent. His views are encapsulated in his book *New Paths in Genetics* (Harper and Brothers, 1941). Thus Haldane opposed the élitism of the traditional eugenicists, but like Muller favored mild eugenic measures to rectify such hereditary defects as could be identified. Imbued with a genuine desire to ameliorate the suffering of future generations by 'reform eugenics', Haldane was a powerful force in redirecting eugenic zeal away from the goal of national improvement so as to ensure Britain's continued imperial leadership. Haldane ignored questions about the general quality of the population, differential birthrates and IQ levels, and by 1933 he had advanced to occupy the chair of Weldon Professor of Biometry at the University of London, the very discipline founded by Karl Pearson and the eminent pioneer eugenicist Walter F.R. Weldon to study matters fundamental to the interests of mainstream eugenics. From this powerful position, he was able to redirect the academic machinery that Galton and Pearson had taken so much trouble to put in place.

Haldane was famed for his sharp mind and outstanding wit, the latter being a factor which made him an invaluable public figure to the media, a large portion of which was strongly sympathetic to his overall political views. Crucial to a proper understanding of his influence on eugenics is an understanding of his attitude

toward race – at a time when German scientists were developing rockets and stressing the importance of heredity in determining human behavioral potential. Haldane, as we have noted, took care never to deny that any racial (*i.e.* inherited) differences in intellectual ability might exist. Although he argued that no proof of racial differences in ability had at that time been found, this did not mean, he carefully warned, that the theory of 'absolute racial equality' was necessarily correct.

However, his political convictions required him to denounce race-consciousness as being a symptom of class prejudice, and consequently Haldane opted to ignore all differences between races and populations in favor of building an equalitarian society by a genetic "levelling" process. Eugenics, he sought to argue, would be of little moral value until class barriers to interbreeding had been broken down and a general genetic pan-mixia obtained. He based his argument on the dubious assumption that if class barriers disappeared the intelligent would procreate freely with the less intelligent, thereby eliminating the inherent biological disparities that tended to be perpetuated by class and race barriers.

In fairness to Haldane, we must note that he was living in a society which was still, at that time, relatively homogeneous from a racial point of view. Contrary to popular opinion, there was little genetic difference between the Celts, Anglo-Saxons and Northmen (Vikings and Normans), Flemings and Huguenots, from whom the traditional population of early twentieth century Britain was derived, and the startling racial contrasts that exist in multi-racial societies were not a part of the British experience at that time.

His belief that good stock was to be found among the lower income groups in Britain reinforced his commitment to the theory of class warfare and class prejudice, and as a result, perhaps, about the only eugenic measure he was prepared to support was artificial insemination. Many would now agree that Haldane's reputation was based more upon his personal charisma than upon academic achievement. He did not take well to slow slogging research of the kind in which Karl Pearson had excelled, so that while Pearson left human science with a wealth of statistical techniques which even those who dislike his eugenic views seldom dare to disparage, much of what Haldane published was flawed by his over-readiness to accept the unchecked conclusions of other researchers when these appealed to his political convictions. But this did not prevent him from being a powerful figure in the history of British aca-

deme, strongly influencing the intelligentsia of a Britain which came under powerful socialist control during his lifetime.

Julian Huxley

Another prominent figure who contributed much to eugenics but was influenced by the prevailing political atmosphere was Julian Huxley. Huxley had been at Eton with Haldane, and is reputed to have become sympathetic to Marxism as a result of Haldane's friendship. Both Haldane and Huxley, living in a Britain which was still racially more or less homogeneous, saw talent among the lower income groups and resented the association of eugenic ideals with the concept of aristocracy. Huxley correctly believed that much good stock was still to be found among the lower income groups – as indeed it was.

As head of the prestigious Zoological Society of London, Huxley recognized that race was real and that races actually existed, and expressed these thoughts in *The Uniqueness of Man* (1941). As a scientist and a biologist he readily admitted that different human groups obviously possessed innate genetic differences, and conceded that "the large scale segregation of [population] areas, each developing its own general type of culture, may be the policy to pursue. If unrestricted immigration seems likely to upset such a policy, restriction is justifiable..." (*On Living in a Revolution*, 1944).

Yet, influenced by the intellectual climate of World War II, Huxley recoiled from the German tendency to equate nations with racial entities. Thus, Huxley was eventually drawn into agreeing that for political reasons the term "races" should be dropped from post-World War II scientific discourse in favor of the term "ethnic groups." While this suggestion seemed, on the surface, to represent a change of meager semantic import, the implications were actually very significant: while the term "ethnic" does not *exclude* the reality of genetic causality, it strongly connotes the *pre-eminence* of cultural differences, whereas the use of the term "race" clearly implies that in the mind of the speaker, biological differences were basic, and cultural differences were incidental.

This substitution of terms also drew attention away from the fact that, as Sir Arthur Keith explained in *A New Theory of Evolution* (Philosophical Library, 1949), national and social groups tended to become breeding populations, and however diverse their origins, all breeding populations tended naturally to evolve into microraces

to the extent that they were able to inbreed over a sufficiently long period of time in relative genetic isolation. Thus, although Huxley, as a zoologist, advocated positive eugenic measures, his influence encouraged those who sought to restrict the goals of eugenic research to the study of heredity in relation to genetic defects, rather than to mainstream national considerations. It is noteworthy that less media attention was given to the opposing views of equally eminent scientists such as Sir Arthur Keith, or even to Huxley's own view that the problem of unemployment could only be solved by eugenic measures – an opinion which was more in line with the traditional views of the 'mainline' eugenicists than with the 'reform' eugenicists.

Lancelot Hogben

Much more serious damage was to be done by Lancelot Hogben, who though not a Marxist was a dedicated religious egalitarian from the Quaker tradition. Raised in a radical non-conformist setting, Lancelot Hogben played a vital role in the onslaught against traditional eugenic concerns. Unlike Haldane, he had participated in World War I, not by leading men over the trench tops into a hail of metal, but as a conscientious objector in the Society of Friends Ambulance Service. In common with many of the more deeply thinking mainline eugenicists, he saw the futile destructiveness of World War I, as the nations of Europe struggled against each other to mount the continent-wide funeral pyre on which European civilization, as history knew it, was to die. No mainline eugenicist could ever rightfully condemn Hogben or the Society of Friends for their refusal to participate in this unbelievable epic of internecine fratricide which effectively laid low the ancient civilization of an entire continent.

Politically active as a Far Left sympathizer, Hogben became an ardent critic of European imperialism, making it one of his goals to work for the dismantling of European-based empires. He attacked traditional eugenicists both as racists and as members of a class-conscious élite. Securing appointment to the Chair of Social Biology at the London School of Economics, Hogben was able to operate from a position which enabled the media to lend additional weight to his pronouncements. He ridiculed the traditional eugenicists as practitioners of 'ancestor worship,' as he put it, on account of the attention they gave to pedigrees. Karl Pearson, especially, prided himself greatly on his descent from Viking,

North Riding Yorkshire Dalesman stock – a population, he liked to point out, that had remained more or less genetically unmixed for at least nine hundred years. Hogben also railed against 'racism,' 'anti-semitism,' 'color prejudice,' 'male chauvinism,' and 'snobbery.' Married to a feminist activist, who perceived women as independent beings not destined by nature primarily for the continuation of the race, Hogben actively advanced what were generally regarded as progressive causes. Obliged to protect his credentials as a biologist, he did draw the line at denying the validity of eugenics, and as a result was rejected by some of his more radical colleagues at the University of London, but this did not dampen his enthusiasm for the political causes that they held in common.

This powerful coalition – and a coalition it was, since these three knew each other and worked closely together with other progressive and Marxist activists – exerted pressure on the relatively traditional eugenicist who was to succeed Karl Pearson as head of the Galton Laboratory for National Eugenics at the University of London. This was Ronald A. Fisher, an ardent eugenicist, who now took control of the academic center of the British eugenics movement.

Ronald A. Fisher

Fisher's appointment to the leadership of the Galton Laboratory for National Eugenics at the University of London came with Karl Pearson's retirement in 1933. Fisher was himself dedicated to the concept of eugenics. As a student at Cambridge he had advanced the idea that the first nation to adopt eugenic forms of procreation would create a true race of supermen, but as time progressed he came increasingly under the influence of the growing number of liberal activists in academe who considered the idea of a super-race to be repugnant. In consequence, he increasingly directed his attention more toward practical problems of social welfare, and to the alleviation of such problems through 'reform eugenics.'

Fisher's appointment to the Galton Laboratory had possibly been facilitated by his earlier openly expressed support for traditional eugenic interests. His best known publication in this field was his *Genetical Theories of Natural Selection* (Oxford U.P., 1930), and was much the kind of research that Pearson favored. In it he sought to combine Mendelian theory with evolutionary theory, and did so in a very competent manner. Realizing that

populations can either advance or decay, he had expressed concern for both negative and positive eugenic measures. Indeed, in 1932, only a year before Pearson's retirement from the Galton Laboratory, he told the Linnaean Society that the professional classes in Britain were weakening their "racial stock" by failing to reproduce themselves. While he sought to reduce the spread of defective genes, he had at that time argued that the more successful professional classes must increase their birthrate to prevent the intellectual ability of the nation from declining. He even advocated a system of child welfare subsidies whereby the amount of subsidy would be proportionate to the income of the parents, with higher income parents receiving larger subsidies and lower income parents lower subsidies for producing children. The logic behind this suggestion was that no matter what standard of living the parents were accustomed to, the rearing of additional children should impose no burden upon them. It cost more to rear the children of professional parents than those of laboring class parents, and therefore the financial burden to professionals of producing more normal sized families would be alleviated. In any event, fiscal policy in Britain continued to develop along opposite lines, taxing the higher income families more heavily, and aiding the lowest income parents with increasing generosity until it even became practicable for unwed mothers incapable of supporting themselves to be able to live on welfare subsidies if they produced enough children.

Even under the pressures of the political period in which he lived, Fisher never totally abandoned his earlier mainline eugenic commitment to the overall improvement of populations by positive eugenic methods. On one occasion he produced data to support those who advocated voluntary sterilization of the feeble-minded. He estimated that if the feeble-minded could be prevented from reproducing for one generation alone, either by sterilization or by sexual segregation, the result would be a 36% reduction of feeble-mindedness. No country, he maintained, could ignore policies which offered benefits of this magnitude. His opinion on this was challenged by, among others, Lionel Penrose – about whom more later.

On the other hand Fisher's social concerns somewhat paralleled those of Herman Muller, the Marxist eugenicist at the University of Texas. At the Galton Laboratory his primary concern focussed on research into the hereditary nature of diseases, and

there he tended to fall away from association with those who saw eugenics as a means of recuperating the genetic losses of World War I, and as the only means by which Britain could hope to retain its preeminent position as the head of the world's greatest empire. Joining forces with those who preferred not to couch eugenics in terms of racial welfare or the study of the origins and evolution of the modern races of man, he threw out Pearson's carefully assembled collection of paleontological materials. Deeply dismayed to see the collection of a lifetime dismantled, and research at the Galton Laboratory redirected so radically away from the grand world encompassing panoramic vision on which he had based the Laboratory's activities, Pearson commented bitterly of Fisher: "His chief aim seems to be to cast scorn on his predecessor and all who use any of his methods." This was not totally true, as Fisher did make effective use of Pearson's statistical techniques.

Bending to the prevailing liberal pressures to follow policies he might not have adopted on his own initiative, Fisher changed the wording of the subtitle of the *Annals of Eugenics*, established by Pearson and published by the Galton Laboratory, from "The Scientific Study of Racial Problems" to "The Genetic Study of Human Populations." Truly, in some ways the term 'human populations' was becoming more appropriate than 'races' as the diverse races continued to mix with accelerating velocity, but the main fact of the change was that it drew a veil over the evolutionary history of living populations, by ignoring their ancestry, in the same way that the dismantling of Pearson's paleontological collection eliminated the possibility of further thoughts along those lines among the researchers at the Laboratory which Pearson and other mainline eugenicists had been responsible for establishing and funding. Now it became easier for the popular, and even the academic, mind to dismiss race as a mere matter of 'color prejudice,' as something that was only skin-deep, a mere accidental matter of different pigmentation. Evolutionary questions regarding cranial development, bone density, and what we now know about glandular and serological distinctions were not to be given even the minimum of attention. He regarded them as being irrelevant to the new world of 'reform eugenics', which was concerned only with mitigating identifiable heritable defects, rather than with the overall level of a nation's competence.

Fisher's eventual swing away from mainline eugenics is still something of a mystery. It might be argued that once at the head

of the Galton Laboratory, he found the mounting pressures of academic and public opinion, at least as expressed in the media, as being politically too strong to resist. It may be that being human he was simply influenced by the prevailing trend, and more especially by the political pressures that were building up in the 1930's as Europe moved toward war, and which reached a head when Britain and France finally declared war on Germany. Certainly his views may well have been modified by the fact that at the University of London he now found himself in a close professional association with J.B.S. Haldane, whose professorship and personal interest in mild eugenic measures made collaboration unavoidable. By nature Fisher was a social and political conservative, while Haldane was a committed Marxist, and those who knew them observed that Fisher was never easy about working with Haldane. But by and large we are all to some extent the product of whom we know and whom we associate with. Under Fisher, the Galton Laboratory remained a center for indubitably 'eugenic' research, but it was no longer mainline eugenics in the tradition of Pearson and Galton.

The final change at the Galton Laboratory for National Eugenics came with the retirement of Fisher at the end of World War II, and the appointment of Lionel Penrose to succeed him to the dismay of still ardent mainline eugenicists at the Eugenics Society.

Lionel Penrose

Educated at Leighton Park, a Quaker private school, Penrose entered the University of Cambridge. Here he became a member of the élite liberal Society of the Apostles – and also met the Marxist-feminist activist who was later to become the wife of J.B.S. Haldane, a scholar with whom he was to collaborate in the dismantling of eugenic research in the English-speaking world. Penrose became fascinated with Freudian theory, and for a while studied psychoanalysis in Vienna, meeting personally with Freud in that most interesting and contradictory of cities.

As he became more deeply acquainted with Freudian theory, however, Penrose found himself unable to accept its rejection of the role of heredity in the shaping of human behavior, and although he always retained a sympathetic interest in Freudian theory, he found himself becoming more directly involved in the mainstream of psychiatric thought. Obtaining an appointment at the Cardiff Hospital for the Mentally Ill, he remained true to his

conscientious and charitable Quaker upbringing in expounding the belief that a society should be judged by the way it treated those of its members who were mentally ill. While traditional eugenicists would readily agree that those who were already alive, and who suffered from hereditary defects, should receive the best possible care and treatment, Penrose adopted a position which was in direct opposition to the mainline eugenicists: he became a strong opponent of sterilization, even voluntary sterilization, under all circumstances.

Developing, it seems, a deep sympathy, almost a love for, the mentally ill, he observed that those who suffered from Down's Syndrome (as Mongolism had been sensibly renamed) were attractively childish, and he consequently found himself in opposition to the established mainline eugenic principle that human advancement – and indeed, human survival in the long term – depended upon intelligence. His early upbringing as a non-conformist Christian had been steeped in the view that mankind need not worry about the intelligence of future generations, for mankind's future was in God's hands, and that God would not allow mankind to fail, unless he determined that such an event would be desirable. While Penrose lost his theological convictions as his acquaintance with science advanced, he continued to resist any research aimed at the possibility of raising the 'racial quality' of the British people as a nation – or the quality of any of God's creatures for that matter – since this simply had no place in his worldview. Indeed, as J.B.S. Haldane, who was one of his closest co-workers in the struggle to demolish mainline eugenics, once commented, Penrose was to retain his Quaker views on every subject except theology.

Bearing in mind Penrose's Quaker background, and the general prevalence of liberal and 'progressive' views in academe during World War II – when once again, the more nationalist minded 'patriotic' members of the nation eagerly embarked upon military service, while teaching positions left vacant by the departed, or by retirement, were filled by those who preferred to obtain exemption from military service - the course of Penrose's tenure at the Galton Laboratory was quite predictable. Needless to remark, it was not long before the *Annals of Eugenics* were renamed the *Annals of Human Genetics*, and the Galton Chair of Eugenics was renamed the Galton Chair of Human Genetics – something that the original benefactor who endowed the Chair certainly did not

have in mind.

While heading up the Laboratory founded and shaped by Pearson, Penrose fought continuously with the Eugenics Society in Eccleston Square. More importantly, however, he filled all the positions in the Laboratory with researchers who, though interested in heredity, were essentially prejudiced from a sociopolitical point of view against any attempt to intervene against the dysgenic drift of the national gene pool by eugenic means, except in so far as a limited number of genetically transmissible diseases were concerned. This new, far more Leftist breed of academics focused their attention on studying the heritability of specific qualities – a by no means fruitless or undesirable activity that undoubtedly added to our understanding of heredity, which was at that time still relatively slight compared with the present day. By keeping to narrowly defined tasks they made solid progress possible, but by snubbing the broader goal of traditional eugenics, and often deliberately attacking its advocates, they helped create a public attitude of intolerance toward the very concept of eugenics, thereby setting back the possibility of the introduction of practical eugenic measures, at least in Western societies, by generations at a critical time in the history of human evolution. Even during Fisher's tenure of the Galton Professorship, World War II was again selectively eliminating the cream of Europe's youth, as air crews especially were killed daily, few of them being old enough to leave heirs behind them to transmit their genes to another generation. With the end of World War II, when Penrose came to office, a Labor government seemed determined more than ever to facilitate the possible acceleration of dysgenic trends in Britain, and Penrose's own activities were very much in harmony with those of the new ruling political élite. The old landed aristocracy was demographically, politically and economically virtually extinct, and could offer no opposition.

Penrose set the tone of his future administration of the Galton Laboratory in his inaugural lecture, when he declared that racial issues in genetics should only be considered in relation to the 'human race' as a whole. He did not deny that some genetic illnesses were closely linked to particular races or populations, but he refused to encourage discussion about the relative genetic endowment of races as total breeding pools. In short, the concept of "real life" breeding populations was to be ignored. The dispute over the question of race had become more acute at the time

Penrose acceded to the Galton Laboratory, as the Allies commenced the re-education of the German youth, and the rapid dismantling of the old European empires especially created problems in that it encouraged immigration of peoples from the Third World. Instead of European migrants moving out of Europe to settle in other continents, the formerly backward population of the Third World (which thanks to Western agricultural and medical technology and the activities of the World Health Organization were now experiencing a violent population explosion) began to move into Western Europe in large numbers, being largely excluded from most of Central and Eastern Europe for decades by the "Iron Curtain." The presence of large numbers of non-European immigrants threatened to provoke an anti-immigration backlash among the working people, who were now in competition with them for housing and jobs, and the need for a new moral and ideological anti-racist creed to justify legal measures aimed at restraining resentment against the immigrants became a real requirement from the governmental viewpoint.

Today any objective scientist will concede that Penrose carried his attacks on race to an unrealistic level. To argue that race should not be researched for moral reasons is a debatable viewpoint, but it is a viewpoint all the same. Yet to argue that race was not a significant genetic reality or that races have not played a major role in the history of human evolution was something which even Haldane had known better than to say. The racial differences which are still so characteristic of the world exist because they reflect historic and genetically distinct prehistoric breeding populations. Their study can undoubtedly help us to unravel the history of human evolution over the past million years, incomplete and uneven as it has been. Modern population genetics rests entirely on the theory of the gene pool, not on the concept of the individual – although individuals are produced by such pools, and their reproductive behavior will in its turn have a reciprocal effect on the character of any pool to which they belong or to which they may contribute.

Subsequently Penrose went so far as to state that the work at the Galton Laboratory had suffered because of its previous link to eugenics. He and his staff meantime warred continuously against their eugenics contemporaries, who were now deprived of the publication, funds and academic niche that Galton and Pearson had set up for them – with only the poorly endowed Eugenics

Society remaining as a rallying point.

The role of political ideology in all these developments can be dramatized by a single quotation from Daniel Kevles, himself a strong critic of "mainline eugenics." So radical did the faculty of the Galton Laboratory become under Penrose's leadership between 1946 and 1965, that Kevles was led to comment that "the Galton staff, tilted so much to the political Left, also disliked the American cold war policies. Barton Childs, who was at the Galton Laboratory during the Korean War and became one of the pioneers of human genetics at the Johns Hopkins Medical School, remembered that two of the staff members would get together at tea and shred another American reputation each day."

Penrose's successor at the Galton Laboratory was an immigrant from Eastern Europe, who had no affiliation whatsoever with the British peoples, and could consequently not be expected to show any of the interest that Galton and Pearson and the founders of eugenics had felt for the national wellbeing of the British stock.

Daniel J. Kevles

The decline of behavioral genetics and eugenics in Britain did not have had such a dramatic impact on the world, since British universities have declined and British faculty members in general today make a relatively smaller contribution to science when compared with that made by their predecessors. But in the United States there has also been a persistent attack on "hereditarian" studies by Leftist-oriented faculty members, with broad support from the media. This has prevented the public and those who make social and political policy from coming to appreciate the implications of the dramatic advances that have been made in pure genetics and in human behavioral genetics. Before we explore the techniques of some of the key Leftists who have conducted this campaign of disinformation, let us look at an example of bias in the presentation of eugenic ideas, the publication entitled *In the Name of Eugenics* by Daniel J. Kevles (Penguin Books, 1984). This subtly distorted work has come to be widely disseminated as a responsible description of the history of eugenics. In reality it is an insidious attack on "mainstream eugenics," that is to say on the attempt to apply scientific knowledge to help preserve the overall level of health and competency of the nation – as distinct from restricted attempts to combat a few specific genetic diseases. This is in sharp contradistinction from the more short-sighted forms of

"genetic counselling" wherein those who are believed to carry deleterious recessive genes are advised not to inbreed, but instead to outbreed and thereby infect healthy stock with their genetic defects.

Author Daniel J. Kevles is an academic of some considerable ability, but not an unbiased or unprejudiced one. His work is well-documented, but he skillfully distorts the record not only by his choice of data but more especially by the way he presents it. A reader who had no previous knowledge of the history of eugenics would be readily misled into believing that its origins were evil.

Impressive though the book may appear to the uninitiated, due to its wealth of material, even the title, *In the Name of Eugenics,* seems to have been chosen to imply that something undesirable has been done "in the name of eugenics." Kevles has clearly spent long hours acquainting himself with the lives and works of the scholars he has chosen to criticize. Yet an informed reader can only reach one conclusion: whether Kevles knew it or not, he approached his subject with more of the mentality, technique and immorality of a newspaper journalist bent on selective reporting of the data than as a disinterested scholar. His carefully documented work is a coolly and deliberately conceived polemic carefully honed for the purpose of prejudicing its readers against any effort to use genetic knowledge to enhance the overall gene pool of the human race or any part thereof.

While it can be convincingly argued that no scholar can be completely 'objective' – in the sense that even our choice of subject and of hypotheses must be influenced by preconceived notions, and too often the selection of data is unconsciously influenced by earlier experiences and judgments, and even by emotional predispositions – there is clearly a difference between the work of a scholar who consciously seeks to achieve a balanced presentation, and the work of one who has the skills of a scholar, but uses those skills to produce a cleverly documented but one-sided presentation. Kevles' devastating grapeshot leaves hardly a single geneticist, biologist or psychologist who favored broad eugenic policies unscathed. It will suffice here to examine his treatment of just three of the giants of modern science, namely, Sir Francis Galton, Karl Pearson, and Charles B. Davenport. Galton and Pearson, in particular, are singled out for attack. As the virtual founders of the science of statistics these two scholars pioneered scholarly research into heredity, and also pioneered the idea of eugenic measures

designed to help free posterity from hereditary defects and, if possible, to enhance human intelligence and other desirable qualities in future generations.

After a cursory acknowledgement of some of Galton's major contributions to science, Kevles proceeds to distort the record, stealthily at first, to ensure that his reader stays with his vision of Galton, but with an increasing bias that eventually loses touch with reality altogether. *In toto*, Kevles succeeds in creating an absolutely fictitious image of Galton, representing him as the very opposite of what he was. Kevles paints Galton in Marxist terms, not as a genius with a sweeping desire to protect and benefit the untold number of generations of mankind yet to be born, but as a self-seeking, narrow-minded man whose outstanding researches and financial generosity were directed by class interests. Thus the genius who invented statistical method, made outstanding contributions to geographical and meteorological knowledge, devised the contoured weather maps on which we rely today, and could read at two and a half years, do arithmetic at four, and handle classical Latin texts at eight, was motivated, according to Kevles, by "an impulse to social meliorism not atypical of the scions of wealthy, onetime religiously dissenting families." Galton's pioneering work, *Hereditary Genius: An Enquiry into its Laws and Consequences,* was followed by his epic *Natural Inheritance*, which Kevles has the effrontery to disparage as "the sort of study to be expected from a pass-degree Cambridge graduate who was neither a formal mathematician nor an intellectually disciplined scientist." These are strange words when applied to someone whose achievements were so plentiful and historically significant. One cannot but wonder how Kevles would describe Galileo or Newton, if he chanced to dislike their conclusions on some issue – for Galton's overall scientific achievements are to be ranked with such names as these.

Kevles even finds fault with Galton's practice of consulting regarding his findings with other scholars – often presenting his data to them in a form which would ensure that they would not be prejudiced into arriving at a conclusion parallel to his own. This exemplary practice is twisted by Kevles, and cited *against* Galton with the comment that: "when he (Galton) required rigorous mathematical proofs, he had to turn to others."

This kind of petty character-assassination dominates his treatment of all who chose to study heritability in man. Kevles' journalistic cunning reaches its nadir when he harps on Galton's

childlessness (which in view of Galton's genius, and the high achievements of so many of his relatives, was surely a tragedy for mankind), and suggests that this might have been due to venereal disease. Kevles debases himself by inventing this unsupported smear. How does he support this libel? He notes that Galton was a great geographer and world traveller. Many men who travelled abroad at that time had associations with local women, so is it not possible that Galton, while on one of his geographic explorations, may have contracted venereal disease? Kevles does not say why there is no mention anywhere of Galton exhibiting the symptoms of this disease, and the only 'evidence' he produces is not worth mentioning. But then, one can only imagine that different biographers will tend to interpret data in accordance with their own conceptions, thought-patterns and interest.

Not content with such attempts at character assassination – and it is notable that no attempt is made by logical argument to demolish Galton's scientific achievements – Kevles concludes his comments on Galton with Marxist-style allegations of the "class warfare" variety, of the type promoted by Karl Mannheim in his so-called 'sociology of knowledge.' "Had he (Galton) been more self-aware," Kevles writes, "he might have understood that his proto-eugenic pronouncements celebrated the social milieu – and met with the psychic needs – of Francis Galton."

But the more hurtful of Kevles' efforts to deprecate Galton are rooted in his imaginative interpretation of Galton's motivations. Denying him any possibility of a noble devotion to the future of mankind, and employing nonsensical Freudian arguments, Kevles implies that Galton's interest in eugenics sprang not from a concern for the future of humanity, but from a personal obsession with his own childlessness: "Galton may well have diverted frustration over his lack of children into an obsession with the eugenic propagation of Galton-like offspring."

Although Galton was a childless, generous, open-hearted member of the British upper classes, his friend Karl Pearson, the major pioneer of statistical method in his day and also an enthusiastic eugenicist, was the father of several children, and had no pretensions to being a member of the upper class. Kevles consequently has to reverse himself to find arguments to explain Pearson's reason for supporting eugenic ideals. Thus, he writes, "*Professional self-interest* pervaded Pearson's ideas. He insisted upon bringing about the *socialist state* gradually, *through 'the enthusiasm of*

the study,' rather than at the barricades [our italics]."

This is a complete reversal of his arguments against Galton, and a remarkable allegation altogether. It is Kevles, not Pearson, who uses the term "socialist state." Pearson got no nearer to socialism than to advocate that nations, representing human breeding pools, should concern themselves *as nations* with the problem of conserving the national gene pool against the eugenic threats inherent in the modern social order. Kevles likens this to "national socialism" without any further discussion. Having posited this, with all the semantic confusion it involves, he still tries to accuse Pearson of seeking to protect the self-interest of the "professional classes" because in his book *The Grammar of Science* Pearson urged the need for careful reflection, and systematic, scientific thought (something that Kevles refers to as "the enthusiasm of the study") instead of grasping the apparently more commendable approach to "social change" which Marxists advocate (and which presumably Kevles would prefer) – revolution "at the barricades."

In contradiction of this canard, let it be clearly realized that Karl Pearson was only a 'socialist' in the semantic sense that he believed that nations represented genetic units ("breeding pools" we would call them today). He believed that creeping industrialization was bringing about the over-reproduction of the socially unfit and the under-reproduction of the more fit, as well as stimulating migratory population trends which must necessarily affect the nature of the national gene pool. Pearson believed that neither training nor education could affect the *inherited* qualities of a population; only unequal reproduction (including selection by war and migration) could do this. He further believed that the economic effects of modern technology had suspended the operation of the laws of selection, resulting in a situation where the most fertile were no longer necessarily the most fit. Since natural selection must win out in the long run, he believed that any serious ongoing dysgenic trend constituted a threat to national survival, and possibly even to human survival. This latter concept is not so far-fetched when we contemplate the dismal manner in which our present generation has faced the problem of global pollution and the global population explosion.

Deliberately overlooking these facts, Kevles declares and without a shred of evidence that: "Pearson's own purposes, however, were no more disinterested than his eugenics were

unprejudiced." Kevles gives neither explanation nor justification for this further libel. All he does is to follow it with a single sentence, repeating his earlier sarcasm about Pearson's presumably evil "enthusiasm of the study," which he alleges grew stronger when Pearson and Weldon introduced the academic world to a new branch of scientific research 'biometry' – the statistical study of evolution and heredity – and "saw a rich vein of research in the linked subjects of biometry, statistics, and eugenics."

The message is this: academicians beware! Do not allow your "enthusiasm for the study" to detract from your duties to "man the barricades." Kevles knows his role in the world of politics: there is seemingly an important political battle to be fought in the academic world, and he himself has mounted the barricades to further his own political cause, even though his weapon is only a sharpened pen.

His predilection for Marxist thought reveals itself again when he quotes Bernard Shaw, who accused Pearson of being prepared to favor a "prejudiced aristocracy" over an "uneducated democracy." Kevles cannot claim that Pearson belonged to the ruling classes, so he alleges that: "what Shaw failed to recognize was that Pearson was concerned less with the shape of the new society than with where the Karl Pearsons would fit into it."

Kevles' use of sarcasm is persistent. Galton, Pearson, and Weldon, are scathingly referred to as "the high priests of biometry." In his chapter on Karl Pearson, to which he sneeringly gave the title "Saint Biometrika" (from Pearson's own humorous exclamation that "It is Saint Biometrika *contra mundum*"), Kevles is faced with the task of avoiding being "hoisted by his own petard." Pearson's contribution to the development of statistical method was second only to that of Galton – and included many basic concepts such as the Pearson Coefficient of Correlation and the Chi-Square. His brilliant comprehension of the role of genetics in shaping human behavior was such that – as subsequent twin studies have since substantiated – he perceived that even temperament was largely heritable. Indeed, by Kevles' own admission, Pearson anticipated the findings of modern twin studies when he declared that "No training or education can create [intelligence] ... you must breed it."

Unable to suggest that Pearson's academic interests were the result of Freudian complexes about personal childlessness, Kevles invents Marxist-inspired explanations – anything being better than

allowing his readers to think that Pearson genuinely cared about the welfare of future generations. "Pearson," he wrote, "unlike Galton, had *no need* to fantasize about eugenic breeding, for Maria, settling down to a matronly life in Hampstead, had borne him three children within a few years of their marriage ... The eugenics of Karl Pearson, husband and father, was charged less with *psychosexual energy* than with the commitment to *social imperialism* – the ideological system wherein, in fact, his eugenic convictions had originated [our italics]."

Kevles repeatedly falls back on one of two discredited and outdated authors, namely Freud, with his imaginative concepts of psychoanalysis, and Marx, with his revolutionary concept of class warfare. Rather than attempt to demonstrate that their scientific work was inaccurate (which in Galton and Pearson's case would involve disproving the validity of climatic maps and statistical method), he tries only to impugn their motives. He seems to believe that there is a causal connection implicit in the mysticism of the terminology, which has had such ample box office promotion. Kevles' own thought processes seem to be hopelessly immured in the mid-nineteenth century teachings of Marx and the equally fallacious turn-of-the-century imaginings of Freud.

One must challenge the logical consistency, as well as the justness, of Kevles' Marxist critique of Pearson, when on another page Kevles reveals that he is aware that Pearson "declared that (genetic) fitness extended down to the better sort of English workingman marked by 'a clean body, a sound if slow mind, a vigorous healthy stock and a numerous progeny.'" Is this class warfare? And was Pearson wrong if he alleged that Britain was "ceasing as a nation to breed intelligence"? If he were wrong, why do intelligence tests today show the Japanese as more intelligent than the present-day residents of the British homeland, and how is it that a high percentage of key positions in British society are now filled by persons of non-native descent? Possibly one might say it was due to the dysgenic influences of World Wars I and II coming on top of the continuous drain of colonial enterprise. Possibly it is in part due to selective emigration from Britain. But whether Pearson was right or wrong about dysgenic trends in Britain, Kevles' own quotation shows that Pearson did not despise the English workingman, and it is well known that he was proud of his own Yorkshire Dales family background.

Kevles dares not suggest that either Galton (who was indepen-

dently wealthy) or Pearson (who was not) gained personal financial benefits from their dedication to science. Indeed, such was the hostility to biometry among the growing body of liberal activists then beginning to penetrate academe, because of its social and political significance, that Pearson had to warn his students that there would be no openings for them in the academic world and that even the demand for statisticians would take considerable time to develop. Kevles quotes Karl Pearson as declaiming that "We of the Galton Laboratory have no axes to grind. We gain nothing, we lose nothing, by the establishment of the truth." Yet all Kevles can say to counter this laudable remark is that: "with due genuflections to the necessity for methodological caution and insistence upon the implacable objectivity of correlation coefficients [another of Pearson's contributions to the integrity of science] ... the research program [at the Galton Laboratory] amounted to the convictions of Karl Pearson writ large."

Kevles treats Charles B. Davenport (the renowned American biologist who first demonstrated the Mendelian inheritance of hair and skin color along with a broad range of human and animal traits) with somewhat less sarcasm, but with an insistence that Davenport's work was vitiated by personal views which "reflected the standard racism of the day." Kevles repeatedly makes this sort of statement, as though he believes that all races are genetically identical in their innate potentials – a mathematical and obvious impossibility. Kevles clearly does not believe that, which suggests that his attacks on those who believe that races are genetically different are a result of his own political biases.

Thus, Kevles writes: "like many of his colleagues, Davenport equated national with 'racial' identity." This cursory dismissal ignores the fact that to the extent that, as Sir Arthur Keith showed, nations comprise separate breeding populations they do have genetic significance, even though they may be composed of many smaller breeding populations and have diverse racial roots which may or may not have become significantly homogenized. Davenport was concerned not only with the need to encourage both competent and outstanding members of the community to have, on the average, more children than they were currently producing, and advocated measures aimed at reducing the rate of proliferation of subnormal and especially low level individuals. Because of this, Kevles accuses him of being "blinded by eugenic prejudice." Obliged to acknowledge the solid achievements of Davenport,

which are still well remembered, Kevles grudgingly asserts that "Davenport could occasionally give eugenics a flavor of humane good sense with his warnings that the victims of Huntington's chorea or the sisters of hemophiliacs should not have children." However, Kevles fails to explain the basis on which he determines which inherited handicaps are to be restricted with "humane good sense" when he criticizes Davenport for being "prepared to curtail other people's rights in order to promote the race."

Kevles condemns Davenport for making the scientifically sound remark that "human matings could be placed on the same high plane as that of horse breeding." Although that remark may seem politically injudicious to some readers, it is not scientifically unsound. The ancient Greeks even boasted that they chose their wives the way they chose their horses, by the lengths of their pedigrees. While all eugenic views involve some degree of subjective judgement as to which properties are good and bad, this problem is overemphasized by opponents of eugenics, and few medical men would differ as to a basic list of hereditary defects which they would gladly see reduced among future generations. Kevles does not trouble to explain the subjective criteria on which he bases his own allegation that Davenport's "protoplasmic vision was on the whole offensive, in part cruel."

When Davenport showed that the financial burden to the American nation resulting from indifference to the reproduction of tens of thousands of genetically handicapped individuals could be estimated (in his day) at around a hundred million dollars a year, Kevles only chooses to ignore the implications of such figures when projected into the future (with compound interest). He alleges only that Davenport's ideas on "negative eugenics simply expressed in biological language the conservative's bile over taxes and welfare." Let the capitalists bear the burden of taking care of the increasing percentage of the population that, through genetic causes, cannot take care of itself: future generations should be condemned to live with a growing legacy of genetic defects, Kevles seems to think. But he fails to contemplate the economic impact of the defective offspring which he would breed *after* the revolution, should their number continue to increase until they reach the level that even a socialist society cannot afford to maintain. Nowhere does Kevles seem to care that Davenport never argued that those who were born incompetent due to hereditary defects should not be properly cared for, and that all he wanted to do was to help to

free future generations from the curse of genetic handicaps. Davenport sought future generations of happy children, rather than children condemned to misery and suffering – and to spreading their suffering more widely throughout each succeeding generation.

The Final Act in London

Kevles' book exemplifies the trend toward anti-hereditarian, excessively environmentalist thought that has gained control over much of academe over the past five or six decades. This has happened despite the strides made in genetic science and in human behavior genetics to which Sandra Scarr referred. A major academic trend rooted in socio-political ideologies, once begun, is hard to reverse. Those who occupy positions of academic power, especially when their views are reinforced by prevailing political machinery, are able to select and train whomsoever they wish in the views and attitudes of their own preference. The most preferred of these students are ushered into the available vacant slots, and eventually become the leaders, sometimes almost the only qualified leaders, of their discipline in the next generation. Even the teaching positions in grade school come to be filled with the pupils of the dominating academic fashion, where they will train young minds from their earliest days of schooling. Thus it was not surprising that the Eugenics Society in Eccleston Square was also inevitably bound to fall to the prevailing intellectual regime, and to make what amounted to a virtual one hundred and eighty degree turn in its goals and policies.

As we have already observed, the resolution which changed the name of the Eugenics Society to "The Galton Institute for the Study of Biology and Society" did not dishonor Galton, but it did repudiate all that he stood for. The decision to jettison the term 'eugenics' represented a decision to run against the intentions of the founders and past benefactors of the society. Indeed, editor D.F. Roberts of *Biology and Society* (the publication which had been introduced to replace *The Eugenics Review*) summed up the true philosophy behind the name-change. Writing in the June 1988 issue of *Biology and Society* (Vol. 5, No. 2), under the modish heading, "Changing Times and Time for Change," Roberts observed that "conditions now as the 20th century approaches its end are very different from what they were at its opening [a statement with which few true eugenicists would have cause to

quarrel] ... attitudes and activities today are very different from what they were a century ago in 1883 when the word 'eugenics' was coined by Galton and in 1907 when the Eugenics Society was founded." As a result, he declared:

> Outside the society, the name is misunderstood, having overtones of the production of a super race, the memories of the events in Nazi Germany of the 1930's and 1940's, and of the early and well-meaning but no longer acceptable laws that were passed in the United States; moreover 'eugenics' ... does not evoke a picture of the .... apolitical interests of the Society [which are].... far removed from the simple *OED* definition of eugenics as 'the production of fine offspring.'

The book review section of the same issue of *Biology and Society* praised one of the books under review for being *free of eugenic implication*. Even more startling was the account it gave of the Twenty-Seventh Darwin Lecture on Human Biology, of which the Eugenics Society, or Galton Institute, is a co-sponsor, presented at the Natural History Museum on November 17, 1987 by a Mr. E. Grebenik. Neither Sir Francis Galton nor Charles Darwin would have found the content of the lecture to be in line with any philosophy they supported.

Attacking what he called the "misguided fears of race suicide" that he claimed had characterized eugenics in the nineteenth century, speaker Grebenik alleged that these arose partly from "misleading statistics." Having diverted attention away from the vital fact that the ancient peoples of Northern and Western Europe are, indeed, currently engaged in committing 'race suicide' in the sense that Galton would have understood this term, the speaker moved on to focus on the implications of population change for democracies. Commenting that the world's population would double by the end of the next century (an estimate which far underrates the fertility of the Third World), he warned that the inevitable pressure of immigrants on countries with low growth rates (he passed over reference to those European countries in which the growth rate of the indigenous population is actually negative) might lead to more stringent methods of immigration control which could, he feared, "become a threat to civil liberties." In short, Mr. Grebenik's lecture was not about eugenics, genetics or even evolution, but was an ideological warning against any

resistance by Western nations to the immigration of the surplus population from the prolific Third World. It was a political appeal calling upon its listeners to ensure that European society would be on its guard against "xenophobia" or any "other factors" that might result from the "close proximity of aliens with different cultural backgrounds, since this would erode democratic values."

Thus, the Eugenics Society had finally fallen under the control of those whose opinions were diametrically opposed to the eugenic views and ambitions of the founders and benefactors of the original Eugenics Education Society. The advancement of egalitarian ideology, if Mr. Grebenik's speach is a measure, is now perceived to be more in line with the purpose of the "Galton Institute" than the conservation – let alone the enhancement – of human abilities. In direct contradiction of the beliefs of the founders, Mr. Grebenik commended the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights for protecting the rights of all parents (*including those incapable of caring for themselves but still likely to produce similar offspring*) to "freely decide" on the number of offspring they would produce. One wonders how Galton, or Pearson, or even Darwin, would have reacted if they had been asked to sit through the Twenty-Seventh Darwin Lecture, sponsored by the Galton Institute in the year, Anno Domini, 1988.

2 / THE LEGACY OF MARX, MANNHEIM AND LYSENKO

During the past thirty years, research in genetic science has helped us to a better understanding of the mechanism by which human qualities are transmitted from generation to generation. Further research in the next few decades promises to go far towards revealing the genetic code by which defects and diseases as well as useful abilities are transmitted, thereby making the dreams of the early eugenicists a potential reality. Whether or not mankind will choose to use its burgeoning knowledge of genetic science to the benefit of future generations by the voluntary utilization of the knowledge gained from genetic research, or even by genetic surgery, will depend upon the outcome of ethical debates and political decisions. These, however, are matters which still lie largely in the future. Reality knows no ethics. Ethics can only be concerned with our response to reality as we perceive it. We need to debate openly about the reality we see, determine the facts, and then – and only then – debate the appropriate ethical response. However, this has not happened, and a strong prejudice has been raised against the application of research in behavior genetics to the solution of human problems.

How have people like Kevles been so successful in causing public opinion not only to reject the findings of behavioral genetic research, but even to oppose further research in that area? It is an unfortunate fact of history that human beings are often slow to appreciate the significance and potential utility of new knowledge. As a species we are conservative, and cling to ideas and concepts we acquired in our youth. It is hard for grown men and women to adjust to the practical and the philosophical implications of scientific discoveries. New tools, equipment and machinery in general are quickly welcomed and adopted, but the implications of new discoveries in the realm of biological science affect deeply ingrained attitudes and perspectives and consequently our acceptance of the moral implications of genetic knowledge tends to be much slower. In social matters change comes slowly – for although the social sciences profess to be objective, they deal intimately with matters which are the very essence of our social and moral convictions. Some who teach the social sciences enter academe

especially for the satisfaction of spreading their personal ideals and values among the youth of our nation. It is also more difficult for social scientists to adjust to new perspectives than for scholars immersed in "hard" sciences such as biology, chemistry, and physics, because in the social sciences new ideas involve an emotionally disturbing reorientation of the individual's entire perspective of the world. Social scientists deal with the very stuff from which social and political values are made. In consequence emotional attachments to specific sets of values take hold in youth, and discoveries in the hard sciences which challenge these assumptions may directly affront the value systems of individual social scientists, and hence may meet with deep seated emotionally-inspired resistance.

Nowhere is the truth of this more apparent than in the attitude of politically-minded social scientists whose ideas were developed under the influence of Marxian thought, dependent as that entire construct is upon the extreme and assumed biological equality of all humankind. This concept found support roughly fifty to one hundred years ago in the extreme environmental behaviorism of Watson and Dewey. The view that human behavior was completely malleable, as suggested by these theorists, was a new and exciting idea in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which, though resisted at first, steadily gained ground and actually flowered under Pavlov and Lysenko, the protegé of Stalin, in the twentieth century. It taught that all men were essentially similar – to the point of being practically identical in intelligence and other abilities – and were different in their achievements only due to social and environmental differences in their life histories. This view – now shown to be totally erroneous by both medical and general genetic research – gave rise to various ethical and political philosophies rooted in a dream world in which social engineering could create an environment free from all social and economic inequalities, not the least important of which in our century has been Marxist-Leninism, Trotskyism, and the more subtle but possibly more widely pervasive existentialism of the Jean Paul Sartre variety.

Since Marxism, especially, exerts an almost religious emotional appeal to those who attach themselves to its teachings, it is not surprising that some of the teachers in our colleges and schools – who gain much of their social and moral philosophy from the ideas they were exposed to in their youth – should today insist upon turning a blind eye to the revelations of contemporary research in

the genetic sciences. This small but active and determined minority are now endeavoring vociferously to maintain the outdated myth that all men and women, regardless of sex or heredity, are essentially identical in their biological endowment, that genetic differences do not exist, that IQ tests measure nothing, that educational programs can be designed to make every scholar equal to the next. Furthermore, they seek to discredit scholars who say anything to the contrary by depicting the latter as "racists" who are "agents of capitalism" – academic hirelings who seek to defend capitalism by finding excuses for the inequalities of income which characterize free societies. It is interesting to note that the Leftists who hold these views live and teach mainly in Western non-socialist societies, whereas the intellectuals as well as the ordinary people of Marxist Eastern Europe have rejected this philosophy after some forty to seventy years of practical experimentation with extreme socialism.

Karl Mannheim's Marxist "Sociology of Science"

So it was that Karl Mannheim, the continental-born Marxist sociologist who fled Germany in 1933 to find a niche at the London School of Economics, had developed a new sociological version of Marxist doctrine which claimed that even scientists and scholars were motivated by their class interests, and that non-Marxist theories of science (and particularly those that impinged on social science) were not to be trusted, as they were the products of upper class and middle class scholars whose prime interest was to defend their own class interests.

These views had been presented in various writings in Germany (e.g. *Ideology and Utopia*, F. Cogen, 1929, and *Wissenssoziologie*, 1931) and were now published in England under the high-sounding title, *Essays in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Oxford University Press, 1952). As we shall see, critics of "hereditarian" studies and of eugenics have frequently adopted Mannheim's views and repeatedly seek to explain behavioral genetics and eugenics as self-serving disciplines invented by members of the ruling class to defend their class status and to perpetuate themselves genetically in the face of the biological challenge of the Third World. There may be some element of truth in his theory, but this does not mean that the eugenic ideal is in itself unscientific, or that individuals and breeding populations do not differ from each other in their genetic constitution. It means only that those who feel themselves threat-

ened may well support eugenic goals, while those who have no claim to genetic distinction are unlikely to become enthusiastic about selective breeding. Be that as it may, Marxist views, as disseminated by Mannheim, gained ground in Western universities between World Wars I and II, and eventually became the main argument advanced by contemporary Leftist academics in the West against those who seek to research the link between genetics and intelligence.

The Marxist attack on those who study the extent to which genetic factors influence human behavior consequently remains clothed in the pseudo-scientific theory of Karl Mannheim which he pompously labelled "the sociology of science." That there should be a "sociology of science" to explain how ideological and cultural influences (including genetic influences as the study of identical or zygomatic twins reveals) influence the kind of hypotheses that scientists formulate is unquestionable, but it would have to be much broader and more honest than Mannheim's simplistic Marxist theory. Mannheim's "sociology of knowledge" is nothing but Marxist theory disguised as science. It claims that scientists advance theories solely as a defense for the interests and preferences of their class – in short, it simply projects the class conflict theory into the academic arena. While we must agree that the idea of a perfectly unbiased researcher cannot be accepted as universal, and may even be an impossibility since the human animal is motivated by causal forces, just like other animals, the Marxist theory of class conflict sees only one small aspect of causality, and those scientists who have contributed most to the development of academic scientific knowledge have rarely been dominated by selfish class interests. If Mannheim's theory were true, we would have little real science of any kind.

As Arthur Jensen of the University of California at Berkeley noted in an article entitled "Political Ideologies and Educational Research" which appeared in the *Phi Delta Kappan* (March 1984):

> ... the Marxist sociology of science ... view[s] research as just another tool of propaganda ... the sociology of knowledge has become the keystone of Marxist interpretation of science ... [which] maintains there are no objective truths ... Those who espouse the Marxist sociology of knowledge view the so-called nature/nurture controversy not as a genuine question about reality but as a political pseudo-question ...

> In a sense, then, the heredity/environment issue provides a test case of the Marxist sociology of science. In the normal course of scientific research, will scientists who work within these two highly dissimilar ideological and economic systems arrive at congruent or contradictory conclusions regarding the roles of heredity and environment in mental abilities?
>
> Evidence for this test case is now at hand. It refutes the Marxist sociology of science, i.e., the notion that the conclusions of research in the human sciences merely reflect the ideologies of the groups in power.
>
> Recent research by scientists in the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany, and other communist countries has addressed the heredity/environment issue with respect to differences in mental ability and has overwhelmingly yielded evidence and conclusions that are virtually indistinguishable from those of behavioral-genetic researchers in capitalist countries. Both groups of scientists, working independently, find that the heritability of IQ is substantial, with estimates falling between .60 and .80. (Heritability is the proportion of the total variance – i.e., individual differences – in a trait that is attributable to genetic factors.)

Some of the research Jensen cited had been carried out without the full understanding of the Marxist authorities as to what was happening, and as we shall see shortly, the publication of this information in the West led to a witch hunt for the scientists behind the Iron Curtain who had conducted this hereditarian research.

Unfortunately, what Jensen had to say disproving the validity of Mannheim's Marxist "sociology of science," has still not been accepted by those faculty members in Western universities who – comfortably removed from the realities of communism – remain committed to the Marxist necessity of denying the reality of genetically determined variation in human intelligence.

Stalin and Lysenko

Although Karl Marx taught that poverty was the result of economic exploitation by the "have's" of the "have-nots," he was greatly impressed by Darwin's discovery of evolution, and Marx himself believed in the inherent superiority of certain races over others – even though he claimed that the more talented races exploited the less talented. Herman J. Muller, the Nobel prize-

winning American geneticist and a leading exponent of eugenics, also perceived the genetic basis of all human qualities, and advocated levelling society by *raising* the less well-endowed through eugenic measures. As we have seen, the Marxist British scientist Haldane held somewhat similar views. But the Marxist line turned strongly against all eugenic methods following Stalin's decision to advance the power and influence of the totally fallacious Lysenko "school" of genetics.

Lysenko's pseudo-scientific theories were rooted in the absurd idea that characteristics acquired by environmental adaptation could be transmitted genetically to their descendants without the intervention of mutation and totally regardless of the most basic principles of Darwinian selection. Stalin heard of the theory and liked it. While Lysenko could not deny that some individuals and groups were genetically inferior to others, his theory made it possible for Marxists to argue that with the overthrow of class-based society, all men and women would enjoy a similar social and economic environment, and then all would become genetically equal in just a few generations.

Lysenkoism was scientific nonsense, but it suited Marxist ideologues. It enabled them to defend the theory essential to their revolutionary doctrines – that inequality was caused by the ruling classes, and that the science of genetics was neutral in the political struggle. Under the tyranny of Stalin, traditional geneticists in the Soviet Union either pretended to convert to Lysenkoism or were shipped off to Siberia. As we have seen, Herman J. Muller of the University of Texas was a dedicated eugenicist who believed that a relative degree of equality of wealth could only be achieved if the less intelligent strata of society were "levelled upwards" by eugenic means so as to reduce the ability gap. Although he early joined the U.S. Communist Party, a visit to the USSR revealed to Muller the absurdity of Lysenkoism and he resigned his Party membership. But with the World War II occupation of the entire eastern half of Europe by the Soviet armed forces, Lysenkoism was imposed on all the occupied countries. Numerous Marxist activists in the West also adopted Lysenkoist anti-Mendelian arguments without examining these too closely, and began to target scholars who sought to apply sound "Darwinian-Mendelian principles of evolution" as "apologists for capitalism." Lysenko's theories proved a disaster for Soviet agriculture and Lysenko was eventually disgraced, but the anti-Mendelian-Lysenkoist tradition remained vitally alive in the minds

of committed egalitarians and Marxist ideologues, who grasped it as a prop for their argument that genetic inheritance counted for nothing, and that all economic disparity was the result of class exploitation. "Hereditarians," "eugenicists" and "racists" were henceforth a prime target of egalitarian and Marxist wrath.

Marxian Biology Penetrates the West

Marxist concepts entered the social sciences with only a short time lag following the writings of Marx and Engels. Leftist sociologists such as Lester Ward, and later C. Wright Mills, tangentially introduced them into America. John B. Watson's theories of extreme environmentalism, known as Behaviorism, exerted a similar anti-hereditarian influence on American social sciences, and John Dewey translated much of this into practice in the field of educational theory.

Franz Boas, an anti-evolutionist radical who had been born into a politically radical strongly Left-activist family in Germany, brought socialist and egalitarian ideas with him when he migrated to America where he rose to become the head of America's first department of anthropology (at Columbia University). From Columbia he took control of the *American Anthropologist* in 1889, and founded the American Anthropological Association in 1898. This was facilitated by the fact that he headed the first department in the U.S. to grant Ph.D.s in anthropology, and consequently many of his students were able to find influential positions heading newly established departments of anthropology at other universities. Robert Lowie at Berkeley, F.C. Cole and Edward Sapir at Chicago, and Melville Herskovitz at Northwestern were trained by him. In addition his school of disciples included Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Frank B. Livingstone, C. Loring Brace, Jerome Kagan, Otto Klineberg – and, above all, M.F. Ashley Montagu, who particularly devoted himself to combatting any realization that genetics might influence human behavior. Thus the thrust of American anthropology was turned around, as it were, by one Leftist activist from a revolutionary-minded family in Europe. Boas and his disciples virtually eliminated all possibility that a majority of American social scientists would regard human behavior as shaped by anything but learned cultural patterns, and it became heresy to suggest that some individuals and some races might be more creative, more competent, more intelligent or in any way more talented than others. Human differences were only "skin

deep," the mental capacity of individuals or groups of individuals was not in any way shaped by inheritance, and culture and environment provided the answer to all problems of human intellectual variation. So ran the thesis of the disciples of Boas, backed also by the prevailing cult of Watson and Dewey in the field of education.

It was Conway Zirkle's *Evolution, Marxian Biology and the Social Scene* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959) that first drew attention to the extent to which the Lysenkoist cult, which he dubbed "Marxian Biology," has influenced Western social scientists. In the West, as in the Soviet-controlled territories, it extended its influence far beyond the field of pure Marxist activism, and has heavily shaped American social legislation through the erroneous testimony of social scientist "experts," their thoughts distorted by the Marxian or Lysenkoist interpretation of biological science. Zirkle revealed how this anti-hereditarian "quackery has penetrated into our scholarly world" resulting in the pervasive acceptance of egalitarianism as an ideal. Its success, Zirkle adds, has been aided by intellectual specialization and the consequent fragmentation of knowledge, which has made it difficult for the main body of sociologists to keep up-to-date with the expanding body of scientific knowledge concerning human heredity.

The influence of those who oppose the application of the findings of biological and genetic research to the understanding of human social behavior was greatly enhanced by the temporary fashion for "Social Darwinism" at the turn of the century, with its erroneous over-emphasis upon individual competition in evolution to the exclusion of group competition. Social Darwinists did not see that cooperation within the group enhanced the competitiveness of the group in its struggle for survival against other groups – and that altruism and loyalty were powerful forces for the survival of the group, race or lineage. The fact that altruism has survival value, when practiced in favor of members of the altruist's own gene pool, was not apparent to the Social Darwinists, who did not fully realize that from the evolutionary point of view it is the gene pool, the race or lineage which is important, not the individual *per se*. This defect in nineteenth century Social Darwinist thinking made it easier for Marxian social philosophers to downplay the significance of biological forces to the human social system and to promote instead their own distorted concepts of direct genetic subordination to environmental forces. Darwin himself, of course,

was not a "Social Darwinist" in that he never meant anyone to assume that all competition took place strictly at the level of individuals. Indeed, the influence of Marxian biologists has been such that we almost always hear his major work referred to simply as *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*. Darwin's true comprehension of the evolutionary process, as involving group as much as individual competition at the higher levels of mammalian development, is revealed by the full title, which is: *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or The Preservation of the Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (John Murray, 1859).

Commenting on the impact of Marxian biology on Western thought, Zirkle observed that:

> Those who tried to advance Marxian biology consciously were not numerous, but their influence in shaping the ideals of our intelligentsia was tremendous. They actually set the fashion not only in letters but also in the popular up-to-date attitudes in morals and ethics. It is even possible that they furnished the dominant directives to the social sciences. This statement is not as far-fetched as it might seem at first, for practically all social scientists are familiar with the works of the more progressive writers, but almost none of them is technically equipped to evaluate the new discoveries in biology.
>
> Marxian biology has always had allies, and this has been one of the sources of its strength. On the other hand, scientific biology has had few friends. The moment it grew to the point where it applied to *Homo sapiens*, it acquired enemies. Indeed, for the last hundred and fifty years, the history of biology (outside of the history of its technical developments and discoveries) has been a history of conflict ...

Concerning sociology and anthropology, Zirkle was especially critical:

> The co-existence of our rapidly expanding sciences with stupid quack substitutes for science should surprise no one ... Marxian biology ... exists also in non-Communistic countries – in countries where it is not protected by Marxian dictators.

Zirkle did not complain that contemporary Western sociologists ignored biology, but rather that they had become so deeply permeated by the propaganda of Marxian pseudobiology that:

"The usual course is to treat the human species as if it were composed of an amorphous, uniform and plastic raw material, as if it were a species which could be molded (conditioned is the usual word) to suit the heart's desire." Most sociologists, he declared, are dedicated to the idea of "reform" along equalitarian lines, and find it easier to disapprove of biological variables and to accept Marxian pseudo-biology than to face the reality of biological disparity.

Admitting that there were some sociologists who have not fallen into this trap, Zirkle warned that:

> It is necessary, however, that we distinguish between sociology as it is understood by the cream of the professional sociologists and sociology as it is taught from elementary textbooks. Some sociologists recognize the complexities of their subject and are fully aware of the tremendous difficulties which they will have to surmount before they can make the contributions which society needs. The more popular textbooks, however, give a very different picture of the field and this, of course, is very serious – even dangerous. If he [the young graduate] knows anything at all, it is apt to be only what he learned in a single undergraduate course which was taught from an elementary textbook. It is textbook sociology which penetrates to our professional educators and which is included in the curricula of our teachers' colleges. It is textbook sociology which conditions the thinking of those who teach in the primary and secondary schools and thus, it is textbook sociology which influences, and which will continue to influence, the climate of opinion. It is textbook sociology which indoctrinates the run-of-the-mill college graduate and it is textbook sociology which orients our intelligentsia on social questions.

The identifying characteristics of Marxist biology are numerous. Salient among these is the rejection of Malthusian doctrine. In the words of Margaret Sanger:

> A remarkable feature of Marxian propaganda has been the almost complete unanimity with which the implications of the Malthusian doctrines have been derided, denounced, and repudiated. Any defense of the so called 'Law of Population' was enough to stamp one, in the eyes of the orthodox Marxians, as a 'tool of the capitalistic class,' seeking to dampen the ardor of those who expressed the belief that men might create a better world for themselves. Malthus, they claimed, was actuated by

selfish motives. He was not merely a hidebound aristocrat, but a pessimist who was trying to kill all hope of human progress.

Other key indicators of Marxist influence in the Western social sciences are: 1) a denial of the role of population pressure on natural selection among contemporary human societies, 2) a continuation of the Lysenkovian denial of natural selection and Mendelian heredity, 3) an insistence that evolution has ceased to play a significant role in human affairs, 4) the idea that all peoples can be made equal by culture, and 5) opposition to eugenics.

Thus Zirkle wrote:

> ... all kinds of eugenics are anathema to Marxists of all types. In fact, eugenics impinges upon so many religious, political, and economic convictions that a great many individuals are unable to evaluate the subject honestly. Yet the questions involved are essentially simple. The program of negative eugenics is sound and based on valid research. Our knowledge of the machinery of heredity is now sufficient to enable us to foretell the outcome of the program and the outcome, we know, would be beneficial...

Finally, Zirkle added, Marxist influence in the contemporary social sciences is perhaps most evident in the attempts of many contemporary social scientists to keep alive the meaningless "nature versus nurture" controversy, admitting only a minor role to heredity. In his words:

> Any contrasting of heredity with environment which presents one as more important than the other is completely meaningless. What we are depends 100 percent on our heredity and also 100 percent on our environment; change either and we are changed. Any attempt to make one more important than the other is as silly as trying to determine which is the more important in deriving a product, the multiplicand or the multiplier.

Although not widely understood, because of the absence of rational and open discussion of this issue, the genetic and environmental influences that shape our behavior are qualitatively different. While scientists often seek for convenience to ascribe estimated percentage points to the hereditarian contribution, that contribution is best seen as a given mean, set at the time of concep-

tion, around which environmental forces assert themselves. No amount of environmental enhancement can break new ground, or limit the eventual debilitating effect of an inter-generational genetic decline. A characteristic aspect of environmental enhancement is that, to be effective, it must be pursued *ad infinitum*, and even then its potential is limited by the mean determined by inheritance. By contrast, a steady investment in improving the genetic base would provide a more permanent enhancement, which in time would assist even those in disadvantaged environments. Genetic gains, once acquired, are more easily preserved, and may, if desired, still be enhanced by environmental approaches.

International Leftist Collaboration

Connections were close between Leftist academics across national boundaries, and many kept close ties with the Marxist world. Volkmar Weiss, an East German natural scientist born after the seizure of central and eastern Germany by Soviet troops in World War II, grew up and was totally educated under the enforced Lysenkoist tradition which dominated all of Eastern Europe from 1945 until the liberation of the Soviet European satellites in 1990. He saw the Lysenkoist tradition from the inside, as it were, and was obliged publicly to accept the Lysenkovian theory as promulgated by the President of the Soviet Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and (in East Germany) by Gerhart Neuner, the President of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the DDR under the guidance of Margot Honecker (the wife of the infamous President of the DDR), as Minister for Education. He consequently felt academically obliged to seek information about Mendelian genetics, so patently obvious was it to him that Lysenkoism was nonsense. Rejecting Stoletov's claim that "the biological hypothesis corresponds with the spirit of Bourgeois ideology ... a convenient masquerade for social injustice" Weiss obtained books and papers from the West and eventually obtained permission to conduct research from the authorities who did not recognize its hereditarian implications. The results were published in an East German scholarly journal, and then quoted in scholarly publications in the West. He has since documented what happened next, and also some of the experiences of East German scientists under enforced Stasi (secret police) rule in a remarkable article published in *The Mankind Quarterly* (Spring 1991, Vol. 31:3). In his own case, he writes that after publication of his data in the West:

> ... now some fierce dogmatists were discovering that a cuckoo's egg had been laid in the nest of socialism. One example: S. Rose [a British Open University faculty member who was extremely active in the anti-hereditarian camp] asked his East German colleague, professor D. Biesold at the Karl-Marx-University of Leipzig (personal communication with D. Biesold) whether there was no means of stopping further publications by Weiss, because such publications from a socialist country were particularly disadvantageous to the propaganda of the radical Left in the Western world.

The result, Weiss records, was prompt repression of academics by the Stasi, and the arrest and imprisonment of one of his colleagues who refused to inform on "hereditarians" in East German universities.

What today particularly angers dedicated Marxists is the essentially cynical and disenchanted demand for freedom that has supplanted Marxist revolutionary thought in most East European societies as a result of the economic failure of the Marxist experiment. This, of course, was a function of Pareto's theory of the "circulation of the élites," which effectively nullifies the Marxist doctrine that a successful socialist revolution will ensure equality and prosperity. To non-Communist economist and social philosopher Vilfredo Pareto, there is a struggle, in any group, between those in power and those who are competent but lack power. Those in power he calls a "rentier élite," since their interest is in staying in power and "collecting rents." Those who seek to seize power are a "speculator élite," since they gamble on disturbing the *status quo* so that they might topple those in power and seize control of society for themselves. According to Pareto, once a speculator élite (such as a revolutionary Marxist group) has gained control of a nation or state – after a period of turmoil during which it suppresses its opponents and entrenches itself in power – it then tends to become slowly converted into a "rentier élite," developing a distaste for further change, since that would constitute a threat to the security of its established position.

Mao Zedong saw this threat to Marxism – an ideology that thrives on struggle and is rooted in its revolutionary creed and its ability to inspire dissatisfaction and social conflict, but which has no answer to the concrete problem of maintaining a thriving and stable economy – and sought to overcome backsliding tendencies

toward 'revisionism' by advocating constant revolution, even after the successful seizure of power, as a way to fight 'reaction.' Hence the excesses of the "Cultural Revolution." Once a revolution has succeeded, in addition to becoming a "rentier élite," with the imperative need to check further revolution, Marxist leaders are confronted by the need to put aside their fantasies and face reality. Just as the Soviet government found that it could no longer live with the ideologically correct but scientifically false theories of Lysenko because they were damaging Soviet agricultural effectiveness, so Communist China has discarded Mao's "cultural revolution" and has not only begun to experiment with limited capitalist concepts but has even begun to look upon eugenics with a favorable eye, admitting the need for healthy ("non-capitalist," of course) eugenic programs.

But Western Marxist faculty members, safely ensconced in the "ivory towers" of Western academe, still live in a free society in which Marxist revolutionary theories can survive – especially among the idealistic but inexperienced student body. Here they can earn quick, if cheap, reputations by winning the minds of their students with their simplistic explanation of all the evils of the world. Beginning students love simplistic explanations, they make life easier – and only those students who are prepared to make a mental effort to check the validity of the claim that the Marxist theory of class warfare can explain every aspect of history and human behavior are likely to discover that human behavior is far too complex to be explained in terms of class conflict alone.

Historical Summary

Scholarly debate can sometimes become vindictive without any political motive being involved. Scholars can become emotionally involved in the pursuit of theories which, they are convinced, represent the truth behind the curtain that veils reality. Their reputations and careers can be built around the acceptance or rejection of theories they have advanced or defended. Also personal dislikes can enter into academe, and two warring professors can sometimes allow their personal antagonisms to weigh more heavily with them than their desire to recognize truth and logical argument. Even professors are human, sometimes very human, in their moral frailty.

This being the case, it is easy to conceive how, when politics invades academe, facts and logic become inconsequential, and the

level of academic argument descends to the level of a political dispute or even to character assassination. Selective bias in the accretion of data, selective bias in the treatment of information, selective bias in the disclosure of information, and twisted logic then rule the scene. Personal animosities also become more intense. Emotional commitment to predetermined values overrides logic with cheerful unconcern, and the satisfaction of the political activist attired in academic garb derives not from the pursuit of truth, or the application of logic, but from the exercise of those subtle skills by which dissimulation, disguised as objectivity, seeks to convince listeners that black is white and white is black.

Unfortunately, in this century there has been a wide realization among revolutionary political ideologues that a society can be most effectively subverted and thrown into disarray by clouding the minds of the rising generations while they are still in school. In this century, our schools have become attractive "killing grounds" for those who wish to change the direction of our society. Ensconced in safe and prestigious niches in academe, activists disguised as intellectuals may safely eliminate the traditional values of a culture by misrepresenting these to their students who are the citizens of tomorrow. Even the schoolteachers receive their training in universities, and are therefore to a large extent shaped in the universities. The "cathedrals of learning" have thus become a prime target for those who would convert the West into a socialist society.

The neo-Lysenkoist trend toward Leftism in American social science was not inspired by any purely internal change of course. It occurred largely as a result of America's willingness to act as a haven for the failed revolutionaries of Europe. The collapse of the radical revolutionary movements on the continent of Europe in 1848 and 1871, and the continued failure of revolutionary attempts in Czarist Russia, along with the Bolshevik-Menshevik or Trotsykite division and the succeeding conflicts of the 1920's and 30's, brought Leftist revolutionaries to America in large numbers, as they sought to flee from the countries in which they had operated, to avoid punishment for their crimes or for their advocacy of riots, assassination and open revolution. One of the countries most ready to open its doors was the United States, and it was to the United States that they came in great numbers.

The universities of the U.S. were first penetrated by failed Marxist "intellectuals" fleeing from the collapse of the revolutionary movements they fostered in Europe during the nineteenth century.

These were reinforced by large numbers of Leftist refugees fleeing from twentieth century governments which sought to suppress Marxist activists, not only from Germany, Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, but – under Stalin – even from the USSR. Unfortunately some who had come to America seeking freedom to advance their ideas were not tolerant of the rights of those who opposed Marxism, and too few academic voices have been raised to point to the comparative superiority of an America which still believes in the protection of the individual's right to express his ideas freely, or even to own property.

While open adulation of Marxism is currently somewhat muted, Marxist thought is still alive and well in many Leftist intellectuals in the academic world. Marxism depends on resentment and jealousy. To stimulate these it is only necessary to argue that all human beings are biologically "equal," and that economic inequality exists only as a result of exploitation of the poor by the middle and upper classes. The fact that in Marxist societies those who control the society retain power by the ruthless suppression of all others, and actually control the nation's wealth for utilization as they wish has been well demonstrated in Eastern Europe and the Orient. But this does not prevent Marxist ideologues from arguing that "pure" Marxism is a valid ideology, and that the historically-known Marxist societies were simply "imperfect."

Thus Marxism rests on the false assumption that all inequality of wealth and achievement derives from 'exploitation' and 'class warfare', and on the myth of biological equality. The poverty of the ghetto is supposedly the result of class exploitation, and Marxists have extended their class warfare theory to argue that the economic backwardness of certain races is due to their having been exploited by the more advanced European and Western nations. Marxist-Leninist theory can never allow that any individual or race might be more capable, and hence more productive, than another. Marxism depends upon being able to argue that it is only the institution of private property that causes one person to have more wealth than another. The moral basis of Marxist ideology would be eliminated if the public came to accept the idea that poverty was not due solely to the exploitation of one individual or race by another. In consequence, scholars whose research indicates that intelligence, or any other quality, is largely inherited threaten the ideology to which Marxism is committed. What is more, the media, being increasingly and understandably responsive to the large

numbers of supposedly 'underprivileged' minorities which form an increasing proportion of the U.S. population and can exert corresponding political pressure, seem anxious to support the egalitarian theory in opposition to any demonstration of inherent disparities of ability between individuals and races.

Given this scenario, we cannot be surprised at the favorable publicity extended to political activists who penetrate the modern academic world, and then, adorning themselves with the status of their academic appointment, devote themselves not to the pursuit of unbiased knowledge about the heritability of human qualities, but to the distortion of facts to fit the egalitarian thesis, to the invention of facts (i.e. the creation of falsehoods), even slandering those true scientists who dare to speak out against their lies. The object is not only to silence those scholars who choose to speak out, but to warn others against following their example. Equalitarianism is becoming each year more sacred not only to Marxism, but as the Western countries let down the boundaries to admit large minority communities, to politically-minded minority activists as well. Demands for affirmative action, redistributive taxation, expansion of social welfare, and other transfers of wealth and influence are all rooted, we should not forget, in the dogma that poverty is due to exploitation of the poor by the less poor, and the non-white "minorities" by the white "majority" – never in any significant part to cultural deficiencies or lower IQ.

3 / Scientific Luddites and Neo-Lysenkoists

In a remarkable and profusely documented work entitled *Storm Over Biology* (Prometheus Books, 1986), Bernard D. Davis, Adele Lehmann professor of bacterial physiology at Harvard Medical School (HMS), protested the interference of political views in the contemporary American academic world. He particularly attacked those who have allowed their attachment to moral ideals to interfere with their perception of reality, and more importantly to condemn views which differ from their own as unethical and self-serving. The scope of his work is impressively broad, representing the experiences of a lifetime in the academic world. It centers on the aggressive antipathy toward biological reality shown by those in academe who have committed themselves to philosophical viewpoints that are increasingly threatened by modern biological research.

Significantly, Davis possessed a strong liberal morality, and had at times been an outspoken activist. Thus when the selection committee of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences voted to recommend that the academy's Emerson-Thoreau Medal for a lifetime of service to letters be awarded to the poet Ezra Pound, he actively sided with those who prevented the award because of Pound's political views. Similarly, when Nobel Prize-winner William Shockley urged that the National Academy of Sciences fund research into the heritability of observed racial differences, Davis opposed this measure on the ground that it would cause embarrassment to some minorities. While defending the subject of race as a legitimate field of enquiry and condemning those who blindly assert that there is an equal distribution of talents among all populations, he felt that the project could endanger efforts to end perceived discrimination in American society and opposed it. Similarly, as a young man he helped organize opposition to the Viet Nam War, calling this "racist," and served on various Civil Rights committees. His life history shows him to have been a man whose actions were morally determined according to ideals highly valued in progressive liberal circles.

Nevertheless, as a result of his dedication to science Davis began increasingly to insist on truth and realism in the pursuit of

knowledge. As a result, he found himself drawn into conflict with extremist liberal activists and became the object of public censure and media disparagement in his efforts to maintain academic standards. All this is recounted in *Storm Over Biology*, a collection of essays written over the course of his academic career. In a perceptive *Foreword*, sociologist Edward Shils, of the University of Chicago, joins Davis's protest against what he calls "the anti-science movement" – the attempt to suppress enquiry when it is felt that the information would undermine egalitarian political goals. Shils writes:

> ... most scientists are not interested in the antiscience movement, and as far as they can see they are not affected by it. But this does not mean that scientists, and science, should be indifferent to it. We can by no means be certain that the beliefs contained in this movement are entirely without effect, or will be in the future ... Professor Davis ... disapproves of discrimination on grounds of ethnic origin, religious belief, or social class. Yet he does not believe that one can help overcome such discrimination by suppressing research into the genetic diversity of human beings, or by relaxing the standards for assessing academic and scientific achievements.

Because the liberal ethic is rooted in a conviction that all human beings are essentially equal in their abilities (not just in their rights), many who hold liberal ideologies believe that their cause is threatened by advances in behavior genetics, which have already produced convincing evidence that all individuals – and also all groups of individuals – differ physiologically and genetically, and that such differences militate against any chance of biological equality.

Academics who have had their hearts captured by romantic Watsonian notions – and have espoused that form of egalitarian mythology which obliges them to argue that all people are born with equal intellectual ability or else their claim to equal political rights is logically endangered – have become what Davis calls "scientific Luddites" – the same people whom Zirkle called neo-Lysenkoists. These are activists whose commitment to egalitarianism requires them to misrepresent what has already been discovered about the behavioral basis of human genetics. Such politically-committed thinkers even seek to deter further research into areas

of knowledge where, their egalitarianism leads them to believe, no useful benefits are to be gained for the welfare of those who are living, and where further knowledge might prove hurtful to those who are found to be genetically less competent.

We find it difficult to sympathize with scientific Luddites or neo-Lysenkoists. Without accurate knowledge, no sound policies or effective solutions to problems can ever be developed. In a world in which the population is estimated to be exploding at the rate of a billion persons every decade, theirs is a highly unrealistic viewpoint. The sooner science can understand the still secret springs of human motivation the better will be the chance that mankind as a whole – including the less fortunate – will be able to relieve itself of the suffering, the poverty and more especially the Malthusian pressures which are currently gaining in force.

Yet Marxist ideologues who have resorted to scientific Luddite behavior and neo-Lysenkoist philosophies are dedicated political fanatics who work together zealously and consequently exert great leverage among the apolitical members of academe around them. As a result, some have secured key positions in the academic world as well as in the media. When the evidence of this became apparent to him, and he realized how the more extreme activists were behaving in a morally negative manner, Davis found himself writing articles exposing the errors of those who sought to block a clearer understanding of the genetics of human behavior.

Consequently, it was not surprising that Davis should himself be singled out as a target by the groups whose behavior he criticized when he made himself vulnerable by seeking to defend academic standards at Harvard Medical School against the impact of affirmative action carried to unreasonable and unjust extremes.

The trouble began when, with the most generous of intentions, the administration of the Harvard Medical School advanced a proposal, which was duly approved by the faculty, to reserve a minimum of fifteen places for black medical students annually, in the guise of an affirmative action program intended to compensate for the previous ethnic 'imbalance' of medical students at that august institution. As it happened, with other medical schools across the country seeking at the same time to increase their own enrollment of black students, it proved impossible to recruit fifteen black students who would meet the normally high entrance standards of the Harvard Medical School. In consequence, the Administration decided to lower the usual admission standards to

make it possible to reach the desired quota of black students. The faculty was assured that there would be no lowering of standards for graduation.

But this concession did not solve the problem that HMS now faced. The performance of the minority students enrolled under these circumstances proved disappointing, and to counter this problem a Special Minorities Admissions Subcommittee with a predominantly black membership was set up. The idea was that blacks would be better able to spot hidden talent among underprivileged black applicants. Hopeful that this would take care of the selection problem, the quota of black students to be admitted annually was increased to a minimum of twenty per class.

Unfortunately for the administration, a high proportion of the newly enrolled black students continued to fall below the required standards for advancement. It became clear that the Harvard Medical School would be obliged to choose between reducing the quota of places reserved for black students or lowering standards for advancement and eventual graduation. The administration chose the latter course in light of the prevailing sentiments and political pressures, and resolved to allow students (both black *and* white, since it was deemed inappropriate to set lower graduation standards for blacks than for whites) to repeat examinations which they had failed until they were eventually able to muster a passing grade. However one might attempt to rationalize this decision, Davis was deeply fearful that it constituted a relaxation of standards – a relaxation that the Dean of the Medical School had promised would not be permitted.

To make matters worse, the Minorities Admissions Subcommittee was accused by some blacks of favoritism in accepting certain minority students who were poorly qualified while rejecting others who were better qualified. A decision was made to abolish the subcommittee on the recommendation of the Director of Admissions. This was not done because of any organized opposition from black students already at Harvard, but as a result of the intervention of lawyers representing organizations that had no connection with either medicine or Harvard. Following a demonstration by over two hundred students, the administration eventually reversed itself, and the autonomous subcommittee was permitted to continue. Once having come into existence, few groups exercising power allow themselves to be easily dissolved.

Meanwhile the poor showing of the black students as a group

continued to be conspicuous, and the Dean's office decided to change the method of grading. The practice of grading by the usual letter system (which became a part of the student's record) was abandoned and replaced by a simple notation: 'Pass' or 'Incomplete'. 'Incomplete' grades were expunged from students' records when they succeeded in passing an examination, even if numerous attempts had been required. There was no official record to distinguish the competent from the less competent students.

All this affected the position of Harvard Medical graduates in the National Board Examinations, and so it was decided to drop all reference to this statistic in the annual report issued by the Dean's office. Since a high percentage of Harvard minority graduates now began to fail the National Board Examination, the faculty voted to require that the Harvard M.D. degree only be awarded to students who had passed that examination – the nationwide minimum standard – an examination which students were allowed to attempt five times. Subsequently, however, even this requirement was waived when a black Harvard Medical School student, who had come to Harvard from West Point, failed the National Board Examination all five times. It was decided to award him the Harvard M.D. notwithstanding his failure to pass the National Board Examinations, since he would not have been allowed to practice medicine as an army officer without an M.D.

At this point Davis felt obliged to draft a memorandum to the Faculty Council (co-signed by six other faculty members) arguing that some better method of affirmative action might be found than the quota system. Medical schools, he argued, had a duty to the public (in this case to the members of the armed services, both black and white) to graduate only competent physicians. Members of the public literally placed their lives in the hands of their physicians, and trusted a medical school's integrity in awarding degrees, having no other way to judge the competence of those upon whom they would rely in times of sickness or injury. His memorandum was accepted, and led to some limitation on the number of make-up examinations a student would be allowed to take. Concerned about a possible nationwide relaxation of standards, Professor Davis then published a similar statement which appeared as an editorial in the *New England Journal of Medicine*. A long duel with student activists, public media and black organizations then began.

The first indication of the prevailing wind was a critical article in the *New York Times* in which a favorable reference to a passage in Davis's article was eliminated, according to Davis's account, by the editor, leaving it not only critical but seriously unbalanced. As is common when the *New York Times* takes up a topic, similar news articles soon appeared in numerous other papers. Then the *Harvard Crimson*, a student paper, took up the theme in a prejudiced article under the inflammatory title "Professor Assails Blacks' Performance." It did subsequently print a letter from Professor Davis listing the inaccuracies in its report. However, Professor Lewontin, a supporter of the *Science for the People* group and a self-avowed Marxist, alleged that Davis "argues [that] these minority students don't have the intrinsic ability to become doctors" and that Davis "thinks blacks are mentally inferior and incompetent." He refused to apologize for his attack on Davis, despite Davis's charge that Lewontin was guilty of gross misrepresentation of Davis's viewpoint. In fact, Davis had often worked to assist minorities and had merely urged that degrees be issued only to students who attained Harvard's minimum standards.

Following the student newspaper incident, a reporter for the *Boston Globe* interviewed Davis on the phone for a full hour, and contacted others for their comments on Davis' editorial in the *New England Journal of Medicine*. As Davis tells it, "I naively answered his probing questions as candidly as I was accustomed to doing with students. The resulting long article gave the false impression, through careful selection of material, that I was opposed to any effort to help black students."

The morning after the *Boston Globe* article appeared, two television stations sent teams to interview Davis. Both quite understandably and appropriately chose black reporters. The first reporter was openly hostile, appearing never to have read Davis's article and to have accepted the biased accounts of it unquestioningly. He repeatedly asked Davis whether he thought blacks were intellectually inferior, and showed little interest in Davis's attempts to clarify his views by reference to the published editorial. The second reporter was more objective. He read the copy of Davis's editorial which was handed to him, whistled, and commented that it was very different from the story that was going out over the national news network.

The ensuing nationwide biased media publicity was followed by activist student demonstrations, and public apologies from the

HMS administration that condemned Davis for his views – which had, after all, been critical of the administration. A demand was actually made that Davis be fired, but this came to nothing since he had academic tenure as a long-standing faculty member. Yet other faculty members were coerced by these many pressures, and even long-time friends, who in many cases expressed their agreement with Davis in private, publicly avoided being seen with him. In fact Davis experienced the extremely unpleasant sensation of having been disowned by society.

Finally, when the *Harvard Medical Bulletin* published an account of the affair which further distorted Professor Davis's position, supporting the radical politicized views of Lewontin and others, Professor Davis acted strongly. He threatened to publish his own account of the entire affair elsewhere unless the *Harvard Medical Bulletin* would retract its account or allow space for him to refute the misrepresentations. Rather than accept a paper from Davis, the editor agreed to publish a statement that would defend him. But when this appeared it defended him not on the grounds of the objectivity of his position, but rather on the basis of his having organized anti-war demonstrations in the 1960's, and that he was the first department chairman in the history of Harvard to have presided over the appointment of a black faculty member to a tenured post, and that he had served for many years as a member of the advisory board of the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts. The validity of Davis's protest against the lowering of academic requirements for graduation at the Harvard Medical School was not defended, but by publishing this editorial the *Bulletin* considered that it had evaded the need to open its pages to any statement by Davis.

In truth, Professor Davis had never condemned the idea of affirmative action to assist those who were culturally handicapped in some way by historical conditions. He had merely claimed that for the good of the trusting public, once special provision had been made for the admission of minority students who might not be adequately qualified, there should be no lowering of the qualifications required for graduation, after which they would be let loose upon a trusting public. In short, it was quotas he opposed, since they resulted in the exclusion of better qualified non-minority students from admission to the limited positions available at the prestigious school. As Davis wrote in a letter to *Commentary* (August, 1978):

> ... quotas encouraged by government bureaucracies and courts have also produced many problems, including the creation of a class of beneficiaries who oppose any alteration of this approach.

Significantly, those who sympathized with Professor Davis included qualified and competent black professionals. This showed that the question of competency and standards need not be a racial issue to those who are prepared to see reality. Thus Dr. Kenneth Olden, who had been a postdoctoral fellow at Harvard at the time of the storm, subsequently rose to become research director of the Cancer Institute at the predominately black Howard University in Washington, D.C., and then invited Professor Davis to join the Institute's scientific advisory board. The problem of prejudice seems to be directly associated with radical political positions, and with fear of condemnation by a politicized media.

Marxism Masquerades as Science

Professor Davis analyzes the prejudices of the extreme Left in other papers republished in his *Storm Over Biology*, not least interesting of which is that entitled "Fear of Progress in Biology." Forty years ago there were still many in the field of human science who accepted the Watson-Dewey theory that all living hominids had virtually identical brains and mental capacities, and that the only causes for differences in performance were environmental. Yet research in genetics during the past two or three decades has made it impossible for an unbiased scholar who cares to acquaint himself with the most recent gains in this field to dismiss the broad significance of heritability, or to argue that there are not wide differences in ability between individuals and populations determined by genetics. Why then do politicized members of academe still strive to suppress research in the biological basis of human behavior?

Professor Davis faces this question and concludes that it can only be a "conviction that genetic differences between people, however real, should not be discussed in public lest they discourage or limit egalitarian aims." Because of this fear, science faces "an ideological attack, spearheaded within scientific circles, on the study of the biological roots of our behavior, and particularly on the study of human genetic diversity." This attack is rooted in strong political convictions. But any restriction that might be

placed on "supposedly dangerous insights is not simply a problem for biologists: it raises the question of intellectual freedom for the whole scholarly community." It might match the "sad fate of genetics in the Soviet Union under Lysenko," which constituted "a vivid warning against subordinating the search for objective knowledge to ideology." Such attacks upon scholars concerned with the biological basis of human behavior and human potential can create "an atmosphere of intimidation" so that "few graduate students today are likely to enter the field of human behavioral genetics."

Science for the People

Davis first took up cudgels against neo-Lysenkoism when his attention was drawn to the activities of the group centered around the publication *Science for the People*. Contrary to what the reader might immediately suppose, *Science for the People* is not a popularizing publication that seeks to explain the latest discoveries of science to the laymen of the world. *Science for the People* seeks to interpret science, and to guide scientific research, in directions which its pro-Marxist backers regard as being for the Good of the People (with a capital "P"). Reading some of their views one might be forgiven for wondering whether the term "People" appears in the title of the publication rather in the sense that it appears in the "People's Republic" of China – or in "The Hall of the People" in Beijing, an official building into which the members of the proletariat seldom if ever enter. In reality, the term "People" is in Marxist idiom merely a euphemism applied to those imprisoned in a system of draconian controls to convey the impression that they are actually the beneficiaries of the system that enslaves them.

Davis illustrates his criticism of *Science for the People* by an account of the role that that organization played in the suppression of research into the behavioral impact of either an extra female chromosome (XXY) or an extra male chromosome (XYY).

During the 1960's, a psychiatrist named Dr. Stanley Walzer and a geneticist Dr. Park Gerald collaborated on a long-term research project at the Boston Hospital for Women, designed to identify chromosomal variations among newborn infants and to trace the behavioral impact of such aberrations on the individuals' behavior throughout their lives. This would have clarified the role of genetics in human development. It was agreed that parents should be informed of the genetic condition of the new-born

infants, and their consent obtained. Clearly, since scientists cannot experiment with human beings in the way they can with laboratory animals, the study of specific case histories, and a statistical compilation of the data, provides the only objective basis on which we can develop reliable knowledge about the role of heredity in affecting and setting limits to human behavior. Data-collecting of this kind is particularly abhorrent to liberal, socialist and Marxist philosophies, since it provides data that destroys the assumption on which all liberal/Marxist theory is based – the belief that the behavioral potential of all human beings is genetically identical, and that only environmental influences, such as class background, can make one individual's behavior different from another. If Walzer and Gerald's research had been permitted to progress, radical thinkers would have been obliged to concede the lifelong effect of heredity on human behavior.

Walzer and Gerald included in their projected program the identification of infants born with extra male or female chromosomes, and the establishment of biographical files on these individuals. These files were to be maintained with strict provisions for privacy.

Around the time this project was being planned, researchers in several parts of the world reported an extremely high incidence of the XYY condition among male individuals who had been judged criminally insane. This popularized the hypothesis that the extra male chromosome might be associated with an unusually high level of aggressiveness. This attracted the attention of journalists writing in the popular press, where it was presented in sensational and sweeping terms. As a result, Walzer and Gerald's study, which would have made it possible to test this and other hypotheses against solid objective data, was abandoned by the two scientists. They realized that if they had continued the project media pressure would not only have ruined their careers but would also put the children they intended to study in exactly that very same limelight they had planned to avoid.

Science for the People reflects strongly Marxist values, seeking to repress scientific activity which would in any way represent a threat to Marxist dogma. It seeks to spread Marxist perceptions among the public and, where possible, among the academic community. It agitates for a "research ethic" which would limit fields of scientific endeavor to areas which are considered acceptable to Marxist thought. Its supporters are persons who have succeeded in

infiltrating the academic world, and who seek to utilize the prestige of their university positions to political advantage.

In an article which appeared in *Science* in 1975, Davis reacted to statements made by Richard Lewontin (a *Science for the People* associate) on a *Nova* TV program put out by the Public Broadcasting System. As we shall see later, it is interesting how often the media choose to make stars out of Far Left academics, thereby creating the impression that their views represent the scientific consensus, when that is by no means the case. Davis believed that Lewontin's presentation denied legitimacy to research into human behavioral genetics, scorned all belief that musical talent, for example, might be heritable, and even sought to play down the major contribution which had already been made by genetics to agricultural productivity.

Science for the People contributors frequently write about the "damaging mythology of the genetic origins of 'antisocial behavior,'" and seek to block research into the link between heredity and criminal behavior. Concerned about this pattern of activism, Davis warned that because the idea of individual and racial diversity was frightening to equalitarians, "some equalitarians fear that its recognition will discourage efforts to eliminate social causes of educational failure, misery, and crime." Indeed, a few went further, he pointed out, and even equated behavioral genetic research with "eugenics" and "race supremacists." However, in misrepresenting the study of genetics as "genetic determinism" (a phrase which implies that the adherent believes human behavior is one hundred percent predetermined by genetic factors) liberals set up a false dichotomy. They leave their readers with the misconception that human behavior is totally malleable and depends solely upon environmental factors. This is the same antiquated and erroneous philosophy that motivated Watson and Dewey, who rode the crest of a wave that significantly set back American education and contributed no small part to the decline of Western civilization in the course of this century.

Perceiving that the more extreme equalitarians were too ready to conclude that all research into behavioral genetics was "socially dangerous," Davis observed that many of them were prepared to demand that societies "set up lines of defense against the acquisition of knowledge, rather than against its misuse." Thus he described the new "American Lysenkoism" as "prescribing an environmentalist dogma and proscribing or discouraging research

in behavioral genetics." By 1975 he had already perspicaciously concluded that "the conflict over human diversity may prove even more intense and prolonged than the earlier conflict over special creation: the critics are no less superficially righteous when the issues are even closer to politics, and guilt over massive social inequalities hinders objective discussion."

Thus *Storm Over Biology* exposes the machinations of Richard Lewontin, Stephen Gould, and their cohorts in *Science for the People* through a series of fascinating chapters. "Just as Lysenko destroyed all genetics in the Soviet Union from 1935 to 1969," Davis writes, "*Science for the People* aims to destroy the field of human behavioral genetics."

Stephen J. Gould is another leading spokesman for *Science for the People* identified by Davis. A geologist by training, but often described in the press as an evolutionary biologist since he also has expertise in paleontology, he seems to have chosen to defend the myth of the biological equality of man by challenging the very existence of intelligence as a measurable quality. This seems to have been the sole objective of his much publicized book *The Mismeasure of Man* (1981).

Davis's use of the term "neo-Lysenkoism" seems first to have been inspired by Gould's attack on the concept of IQ testing in *The Mismeasure of Man.* The title of Gould's book in itself tends to imply that IQ tests do not measure any identifiable form of intellectual ability, but "mismeasure" human ability because they seek to measure something that is not there – a quality that does not really exist. In his view intelligence is nothing more than a product of environment and of the individual's life history. While it is clearly true that human intelligence has been shaped by evolutionary selection (the need to survive in a given environment), Gould seeks to argue that even though people are biological organisms whose physiological limitations are determined by heredity, the human brain is identical in all individuals at the time of birth. In living men and women, he implies, the potential of each brain is genetically the same, and all the races of today are equally evolved and have an identical genetic heritage as far as their ability to reason is concerned. Gould is careful not to deny the reality of genetic factors, but manages to obscure the entire issue of heredity and human intelligence by a prolific quantity of obscuration. Intelligence, he seeks to argue, is sufficiently uniform among living hominids as to render culture an overriding factor in determining

human performance.

Having stated his position clearly in his selection of a title – which itself exemplifies his preference for theater over objective scholarship – Gould selects a number of "straw men" from the history of anthropology and psychiatry, calls them "racist," then knocks them down. Having done that he proceeds to attack selected contemporary scholars, as though they were no different from the straw men he has already demolished. Thus his first 120 pages are devoted to describing and then demolishing early attempts at pseudo-science such as craniometry. After winning the sympathy of his readers in this way, he then launches into an attack on Binet, one of the pioneers of the concept of intelligence testing, and H.H. Goddard, a pioneer of eugenics. Lewis Terman, R.M. Yerkes and Cyril Burt are then attacked with relish, all as though they were to be likened to nineteenth century enthusiasts who studied craniometry. In truth, even craniometry had been inspired by a reality – that was that in the course of human evolution the changing shape of the head appears to have been associated with evolving intelligence, beyond which, of course, craniometry led into numerous blind alleys of research. But tying Sir Cyril Burt and Spearman in with craniometry is like attempting to smear modern rocket scientists by comparing them to medieval alchemists. Both sought knowledge; but that is all they have in common.

The Mismeasure of Man nowhere seeks to present a balanced picture of its subject matter, which is intelligence testing. Gould's technique, which is all that one can call it – for this is a strictly polemical work – is based on what he calls "debunking as a positive science." He seeks to twist the reader's mind by dubbing scholars who see intelligence as being a predominantly heritable quality as "biological determinists," as though they denied any role to environment and life history. He argues that scholars who seek to measure intelligence are merely reflecting the race consciousness inherent in traditional European and Euro-American society – a sense of race that has in more recent times been repeatedly condemned by the media and even characterized as immorality incarnate. While nobody would deny that culture can even work against biology, and can become so twisted that it may endanger instead of promote the survival chances of both individuals and nations, few other than neo-Lysenkoists would deny that even culture has roots in the biology of men and women.

Possibly realizing that he has gone too far, in his concluding chapter, Gould attempts to maintain his credibility by noting that humans are not all, at birth, the *tabula rasa* imagined by "some eighteenth century empiricist philosophers." He further concedes that "as an evolutionary biologist, I cannot adopt such a nihilist position ... we are an inextricable part of nature...." Unfortunately the more perspicacious reader will find no evidence of his adherence to this view anywhere else in his treatise.

Indeed, this claim to scientific realism is belied by Gould's repeated argument throughout *The Mismeasure of Man* that "human uniqueness" mysteriously *exempts* human beings from the forces of nature. His portrait of man is of a creature that is exempt from biological forces – exempt from the forces of heredity that govern all other living things. In the falsifying tradition of Boas, Gould claims that "humans, once developed, evolved with little or no reference to genetic variation among human groups" – but produces no evidence to support this sweeping statement. A more conventional view would be that the human races *are* biologically different from each other, just as individuals are biologically different, since races are nothing more than groups of individuals who share many common traits that differentiate them from other groups. It is thus statistically highly improbable, that any two individuals or any two groups of individuals should have a biologically identical constitution – except, of course, for identical twins. Human races have evolved under disparate conditions of selection, and therefore cannot be expected to be identical.

Falling back on theater again after a few snide comments at the expense of sociobiology and "biological determinism," Gould concludes his penultimate chapter, "A Positive Conclusion," with a cheery and touching quotation from T.H. White's novel *The Once and Future King*. In this piece of fairy tale fiction, the badger relates a parable about the origin of the animal species, in which God is portrayed as giving claws, fangs, antlers and hooves to the various animals, but when asked what gifts he would choose, the human animal asks only to "stay a defenseless embryo," making the best of life through his reasoning ability. This parable dramatically and touchingly summarizes this unscientific book, and is doubtless intended to appeal to freshmen students and laymen alike. Gould is gambling that, charmed by this pleasant legend, most of his readers will put the book down without further reflection – comforted by the warm touch of nursery-story literature with

which its author has demonstrated his integrity as a human being. But thoughtful readers will note that even the parable he quotes implies that intelligence is an inherited gift.

Possibly to prevent reflection along such lines and to keep his book on an emotional rather than a rational plane, Gould follows this parable with an even more sentimental "Epilogue." This recounts the true life story of a third generation American "imbecile" (using the term as defined by the U.S. Supreme Court) who had been sterilized under the then current Virginia laws, and was consequently unable to bear children despite her most rigorous efforts to reproduce. Thus Gould concludes *The Mismeasure of Man* with the words of Doris Buck, a female of such low IQ that she was totally dependent upon others for her everyday needs. After she had consented to be sterilized, Gould reports she lamented that "My husband and me wanted children desperately. We were crazy about them." We shall never know how large a family of children incapable of supporting themselves Doris Buck might have produced but for the prevailing Virginia sterilization laws. If the fecundity of present-day low IQ groups is anything to go by, she might have produced numerous offspring like herself.

Although Gould's book received extensive favorable publicity in the media, non-Marxist scientists were not so impressed. In a letter dated February 18, 1982, Stephen Goldberg of The City University of New York condemned *The Mismeasure of Man*, observing that "it is on Gould's contention that current attempts to measure intelligence 'reify' intelligence, and therefore render all such attempts worthless, that Gould's argument succeeds or fails."

Goldberg contradicted Gould by pointing out that, despite all Gould had written: (1) Intelligence *is* a meaningful word; and that although it is difficult to verbalize what we mean by "intelligence," the word does have meaning and individuals *do* differ in "intelligence." (2) That "those who deny that IQ tests test 'intelligence' cannot explain why, when you intuitively rank twenty acquaintances by 'intelligence', you find that the order in which you ranked the twenty is highly correlated with the order of IQ scores." (3) That although intelligence may assume a number of qualities, and there may or may not be a simple basic quality of "*g*", dominating what we call intelligence, nevertheless people generally agree on who is and who is not intelligent. (4) That IQ tests *do* correlate with intuitively-recognized intelligence, and even if they did not this would not in itself disprove the validity of IQ tests. (5) That

regardless of whatever the causal relation might be between heredity, environment and intelligence, one "cannot avoid the possibility of hereditary causation by denying the meaning of 'intelligence' or the ability of IQ tests to measure 'intelligence'." (6) That "environmentalists have not seriously addressed the devastating hereditarian claim [sic] that the more a test is culturally based ... the *smaller* the differences between the scores attained by various ethnic groups." He argues that this fact "casts the most serious doubts on claims that 'culture bias' explains group differences." (7) That there is a central flaw in Gould's viewpoint. "If by reification Gould means that averages are statistical abstractions, we will certainly agree, but our agreement alters nothing: the average height of all pygmies is a statistical abstraction, as is the average height of all Watusis. This fact casts no doubt about the reality of height, the fact that Watusis are taller than Pygmies, the fact that we can know this by comparing statistical averages, or the fact that heredity accounts for more of the height differences between Pygmies and Watusis."

In short, Goldberg said that although he personally approves of social goals aimed at attempting to educate even the mildly retarded, illogic should not be invoked "in the service of social goals," and that Gould is guilty of this offense.

Another cogent criticism came from Arthur Jensen. Gould's reasoning, Jensen pointed out, depended not so much on objective fact and logical reasoning as on the falsified misrepresentations of a skilled debater, trained to appeal to the emotions. Indeed, so aware is Gould himself of his reliance on this technique, that he included a brief defense of his approach under the subtitle "Debunking as a Positive Science." Unfortunately for his bluff, Jensen, commenting on Gould's book in *Contemporary Education Review* (Summer 1982, Vol. 1, No. 2), chose to entitle his review "The Debunking of Scientific Fossils and Straw Persons." Jensen accuses Gould's book of being "a patent example of its own thesis 'that social ideology can bias science'... It is filled with 'human interest,' and with vivid accounts of eminent but self-deluding, cheating and foolish scientific figures of the past – a kind of intellectual morality play of wrong-doing (or wrong thinking) ... naive readers might develop a gut-level dislike for the many reactionary elitist schemers exposed in Gould's book. But the readers will be gratefully relieved to see all the villains toppled to ignominy for their egregious fallacies."

The Mismeasure of Man is Luddite and neo-Lysenkoist in that the author conveys the idea that further research into the inheritance of intellectual qualities should not be undertaken because it would favor racialist beliefs. But much neo-Lysenkoism is even more directly Marxist than Gould's book, and in one review of the book Gould was actually chided for having failed to adhere to a more strict Marxist line in his attack upon IQ testing. In his otherwise favorable review of *The Mismeasure of Man,* Richard Lewontin of Harvard – a personal friend of Gould and a fellow supporter of *Science for the People* – criticized Gould for having failed to adhere to strict Marxist principles. Lewontin complained that Gould had portrayed "racist bias" as the main "evil," instead of explaining that race is a figment of the bourgeois imagination, and that scientists who study race are falling into the trap created by the bourgeois distortion of reality in the class struggle.

Thus, Lewontin wrote, "in America, race, ethnicity and class are so confounded, and the reality of social class so firmly denied, that it is easy to lose sight of the general setting of class conflict out of which biological determinism arose." By applying the distorting label "biological determinism," Lewontin is once again implying that those who recognize the genetic basis of man as a biological organism necessarily deny the modifying role of environment and culture. Such arguments allege that anyone who believes there are genetic differences between species and subspecies is a "bourgeois reactionary," unable to see the truth of innate biological uniformity as required by Marxist ideology. While this allegation may be dressed up in quasi-scientific terminology, it is logically reducible to the assertion that any concept of biology that does not comply with the belief in biological equality is an "enemy of the people."

In essence, Marxist principles dictate that all living subspecies *must* have equal genetic potential. In biological terms, however, a scholar can only interpret "equal" as meaning "identical." Scholars who investigate the genetic roots of human differences are not arguing about equality before the law, or equality in human rights, or challenging any theories of ethical philosophy. They are discussing only similarity or dissimilarity in genetically-controlled potential. But this offends the basis of Marxist ideology, which does not commence with observed fact but seeks to interpret all observed facts in terms of preconceived principles. It is the old case of the struggle between the ancient pagan European principle of enquiry and experimentation, as exemplified by Archimedes,

Euclid, Pythagoras, Aristotle, and Galileo, in opposition to the Middle Eastern concept of the "revealed word" of God, the truth of which (as disclosed through the mouths of a few self-acclaimed prophets) must be accepted unquestioningly by the obedient faithful. As the Old Testament says, the Lord God is a jealous and vengeful God! In Lewontin's case, it would seem to this observer, the giver of the Law is not one of the ancient prophets of antiquity, but a more recent mouthpiece of revealed law – Karl Marx.

We once again refer the reader to Professor Volkmar Weiss' article in *The Mankind Quarterly* (Vol. 31:3, Spring 1991), which he significantly entitled "It Could be Called Neo-Lysenkoism: If There was Ever a Break in Continuity." Weiss concluded the history of his own experiences under Neo-Lysenkovian thought in Marxist-ruled East Germany with an exposition of the parallels between the Lysenkoist persecution in Soviet-controlled East Europe and the attacks by Marxist scholars on research on IQ and heredity in the universities of the West:

> Men such as Lewontin, perceiving social injustice within their world, have a different outlook than the author who had himself to face totalitarianism as an outflow of Marxist ideology ... The real problem is not an honest aspiration for social justice, whether it be called socialism or not: it is totalitarianism and the terror of Lysenkoism. The resistance to research into the genetics of IQ could be called neo-Lysenkoism, if there was ever a break in continuity! But there never was such a break.

Marxism Recruits Student Activists

What is perhaps most remarkable is that when publicizing "student" and "faculty" criticism of scholars who dare to speak out about what are generally well-recognized links between genetics and human personality patterns, the media seldom identify or comment upon the Marxist connections of many of the protestors, leaving their readers to suppose that these protests were spontaneous and represented the general feeling of the students or faculty. Similarly, it seldom identifies the Marxist commitment of many whom it cites as "respected" academic authorities.

In truth, the most serious harm that has been inflicted upon freedom of speech in our universities has been due to the constant readiness of seemingly innocuous faculty members to devote their lives to advancing Marxist ideals, and condemning those whose

research might endanger the fundamental assumptions on which those ideals are based. They are able to do this from the safety of the academic world that they have been able to infiltrate. And "infiltrate" is the correct word, since being ideologically committed to Marxism, they actively collaborate to assist fellow-Marxists to fill faculty vacancies whenever these arise, while non-political faculty members seldom connive to appoint non-Marxists or to resist the infiltration of Marxists into their departments.

The more successful of these infiltrators, although generally recruited to Marxism by faculty members during their student days, are usually careful to avoid revealing their convictions until they have secured their doctorates, obtained faculty positions, and published sufficient genuine academic material to qualify for promotion and tenure. Once they have gained tenure, they show markedly less interest in politically unrelated research and teaching activities, and concentrate on teaching, writing and researching Marxist-inspired versions of the discipline they have infiltrated. So widely have they been able to establish the idea that Marxism provides an academically legitimate approach to any field of study (not just a legitimate topic *for* study, but a *basis* from which to rewrite history, science and even our understanding of literature), that organizations such as the American Anthropological Association are obliged to sponsor special sections at their annual conferences in which Marxist scholars meet with students and with each other to present papers on Marxist Anthropology or Marxist Sociology, etc. Even the American Association for the Advancement of Science at its annual meetings sponsors sections presenting solely Marxist views.

Although the innocent might imagine that there is a two-way academic struggle between Marxist and non-Marxist faculty members, this is by no means the case. There is little resistance to Marxism among the non-Marxist faculty. Instead, non-Marxist faculty are subtly targeted by Marxist faculty members. In this they can be aided by activist students. In any university today, the students are a "protected species." Consequently, activist student groups can be used to create incidents which can then be exploited by activist members of both the faculty *and* the administration. Do not forget that many of the student activists of the 1960s and 70s are now members of the academic "establishment" which they formerly targeted. Indeed, numbers of Marxist ideologues are today heavily, and not always discreetly, involved in academic

politics, their influence being magnified by support in the media. This often includes not only newspapers and television and many well-known publishing houses, but even some of the academic presses, several of which are heavily infiltrated by radical Leftist academic employees – the student radicals of the Sixties – despite the fact that they are supported by taxpayers' money.

Quite simply, radical Leftist egalitarian idealogues have attained positions of influence in the world of ideas and are supported by the sales and marketing resources of sympathetic sections of the media and by those in the media who know how to sensationalize the news without regard to accuracy in reporting. The material produced by Marxist faculty members is often disguised behind a facade of academic documentation, frequently by simply cross-referencing each other's writings. This material is then used as "evidence" to support misguided student idealism and to pressure reluctant and uncooperative university administrators to limit the academic freedom, including freedom of research, by scholars interested in the relationship between IQ and heredity, and even human behavioral genetics in general. Where do the students enter this scenario? Student organizations can be used to "protest" against faculty members who express views that are too dangerous, too inimical, too threatening to Marxist ideology.

Harvey Klehr's book, *Far Left of Center: The American Radical Left Today* (Transaction Books, 1988), is a comprehensive survey of Communist organizations currently operating in the United States. Abundant studies of Leftist radical groups were made during the Sixties, when they were at the peak of their popularity, but during the past decade, although many of the groups have actually grown in influence as they have learned to present their message more subtly and have infiltrated establishment organizations, not least in the university world, the spotlight has largely moved away from them. This has allowed them to operate more effectively, especially those that seek clandestine influence rather than dramatic action at the barricades. In consequence, Harvey Klehr's study, commissioned by the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, serves as an eye-opening and eyebrow-raising introduction to a world of political activity which few Americans would readily imagine existed on America's campuses and in America's research laboratories.

The media in general makes little mention of activist groups on the Far Left, except when someone is kidnapped or killed by

them, and even on such occasions little effort seems to be made to inform the public about the history or background of the perpetrators. Yet, as author Klehr points out, while Marxist-Leninism has been widely discredited as a working ideology in the Communist-controlled world, a diverse variety of Marxist and Trotskyist thinkers still thrive in America. Even though their number is not large, some exert an influence far beyond what is commonly imagined. Their secret is in making use of the respectability that they have acquired from the positions they have won in academe.

Marxist Political Organizations: The PLP and SDS

One of the more influential Trotskyite organizations that has become well-known for its activities during past decades is the Students for a Democratic Society, more commonly known as SDS. Essentially this grew out of the ongoing, constantly forming and reforming assemblage of radical socialist-Marxist groups. It was closely allied to the Progressive Labor Party, which has been described as a Marxist-Leninist sect (Klehr p. 87). The PLP began as a group of extreme radicals who split with the Communist Party USA (CPUSA) in 1959. These were later joined by other radicals expelled from the CPUSA in 1961 for criticizing its leadership as being too moderate. Having attracted support by sponsoring illegal trips to Cuba, they launched a journal entitled *Progressive Labor*, and in 1965 formed the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) which sought to promote "anti-racism" among American minorities. Led by Milt Rosen and Mort Scheer, the PLP had to expel their black colleague, Bill Epton, for "black nationalism," on the ground that all nationalism of any kind was reactionary and contrary to Marxist ideology.

The PLP's earliest youth movement was known as the May 2nd Movement, but this was disbanded when its members were instructed to join the growing SDS. During the late 1960s the PLP was allied to Maoist groups, and "exercised a significant role in the Students for a Democratic Society." According to Klehr, "within SDS the PLP argued for a worker-student alliance," but at the "tumultuous" 1969 SDS convention the PLP faced a split within the SDS movement. It retained control of the main section of SDS but lost members to two new SDS factions, one allied to the Weathermen and the other to the Revolutionary Youth Movement. The PLP now began efforts to infiltrate many spheres of society by boosting sales of a publication called *Challenge: The Revolutionary*

Newspaper.

Concentrating on minority groups, in 1971 the PLP formed the International Committee against Racism (InCAR) and the Anti-Racist Farmworkers, the latter working among Mexican immigrant labor. Efforts to encourage American Moslems to join in the class/race war were conducted through a publication called *Al Tahaddi.* But it was the International Committee Against Racism, headed by Robert Kinlock, Toby Schwartz, and Finley Campbell, a former professor, that became one of the prime forces within the PLP. It stressed the Marxism v. Racism theme – the driving force behind the attack on "scientific racism." It is noteworthy that Marxist terminology in respect of this issue is widely used by the media down to the present day.

Early Campus Disruption

Although student demonstrations are less frequent now than during the 60's and 70's, and certainly less widely publicized, many of the radical students of that period have since become faculty members and even university administrators. A large variety of ever-changing Marxist organizations still exist – and some of the same organizations (e.g. InCAR) are still very active under their original names.

Early Marxist efforts at disruption were by no means confined to campuses, and in the early days demonstrators forced their way into radio stations, wrecked movie theaters, and threw bricks, rocks and bottles as part of their "anti-racist" crusade. Slogans such as "Death to the Nazis" were mixed with criticism of Zionists as racists; and when a policeman was injured by their demonstrators, *Challenge: The Revolutionary Newspaper* openly exulted over his wounds. Scholars daring to discuss race, heredity and personality have been indiscriminately labelled "racists," "fascists" and "nazis" by Marxist agitators, as they still are in Marxist publications such as *Searchlight: Britain's Anti-Fascist Journal,* which seems to serve as one of the several conduits for much of the false and twisted information exchanged between campus Marxists and Marxist fellow travellers throughout the Western world.

While the SDS featured heavily in campus disturbances against scholars whose research presented a challenge to Marxist mythology, the influence of Marxist organizations in the political and intellectual scene is so extensive, and so confusing because of their custom of constantly changing names and reorganizing their

alliances, that few realize the extent of their operations. Little-publicized groups such as the "Dykes Against Racism" do their work unknown to the broader public. While Stokely Carmichael sought and achieved public infamy as leader of the so-called Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (often extremely *violent*), the identity of the true leaders or directors of these groups has more recently been kept a close secret. To this day, well-publicized scholars holding positions of influence may be found to have links to Marxist-front organizations. When a Weatherman member, Kathy Boudin, was sentenced to imprisonment for her part in the deathly Brinks robbery, a petition organized in her support included such well known names as Professor Noam Chomsky, the self-declared Marxist who holds a prominent position on the faculty at MIT, and the renowned child-care author, Dr. Benjamin Spock.

According to Klehr, the FBI discovered that certain of the CPUSA front organizations actually drew funds from the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship in Moscow. This will presumably be curtailed as a result of events in the USSR – provided the anti-Communist revolution holds to its gains. However, it has been frequently observed that today there appear to be more Marxist-aligned activists ensconced in the universities of the West than are to be found inside the remnants of the East European-Soviet Communist empire. The popular rebellion against communism in Eastern Europe seems in no way to have diminished the emotional commitment of numerous Western intellectuals to Marxist ideology.

Marxism Among Students

It is consequently not surprising that one of the notable features of student demonstrations against 'academic racism' is the often violent efforts made to overthrow the principle of academic freedom and to scare university faculty members from expressing their honest opinions on the relation between heredity and human behavioral potential. As we have noted earlier, scientific research in genetics contradicts the very basis of egalitarianism, a necessary myth for those who seek to overthrow existing societies by promoting radical discontent. Let us remember that communism discards the notion of charity, the method by which a private-property society combats misery among the less fortunate. Marxist-Leninism requires an ethic which argues that all persons have an

equal ability to produce wealth, and that the masses are only prevented from securing "their share" of wealth by a system of institutionalized fraud and suppression by an élite minority who have cheated and bullied their way to power. Nobody can win converts to the cause of revolution by admitting that his listeners are biologically less competent than those he reviles.

How is it that this egalitarian creed is even accepted by some of the more intelligent students? There would seem to be two different classes of student sympathizers. Some – who rarely become ardent revolutionary activists – have been reared in comparative luxury, and Leftist activists are able to instill into these a sense of guilt in respect to those who have been less fortunately endowed. This diverts their sense of charity and idealism into sympathy for revolutionary movements. As for the minority who take an active lead in Marxist campus movements, some of these may simply be misled idealists, anxious to improve the world without thought of personal advancement but others are members of Pareto's "speculator élite." These latter develop a heady lust for publicity and recognition, conceiving of themselves as the leaders of tomorrow's world. Whatever earlier feelings of sympathy for the oppressed, or guilt for belonging to the intelligent élite of the world they may have possessed, these are soon subordinated to their yearning for power, to the pleasure of seeing others bend to their arguments, to the sense of power derived from disrupting institutions built by the labor of others, and to the more basic thrill of seeing their names frequently mentioned in print.

For the rest – those who have lower IQ and those who entered a university as a result of pro-minority affirmative action programs – it is easy to see how Marxist theory is more appealing than genetic science. Marxism allows the latter to bolster their self-image by allowing them to blame their shortcomings on capitalist exploitation.

The Role of the United Nations' "Statement on Race"

Numerous Marxist handouts have cited the Leftist anthropologist Ashley Montagu, and the now more or less universally forgotten, unscientific "United Nations Statement on Race." This latter was and is now even more readily recognized as biased by any scientist of integrity. It is seldom mentioned these days, but was a powerful force in the 1960s and 1970s despite the fact that it was early repudiated by a much more prestigious group of

scientists than those who appended their names to the original purely political document. Leftist organizations were therefore particularly angered when no less than 50 eminent scientists endorsed the "Resolution for Scientific Freedom," cited by Professor Eysenck in his Introduction, which condemned the efforts of those who sought to muzzle scholars and to suppress research into human hereditary and behavioral genetics. Notable among the signatories to this resolution, it will be remembered, were renowned scholars such as Francis H.C. Crick, Nobel Prize-winner, Laboratory of Molecular Biology, Cambridge University; Jacques Monod, Nobel Prize-winner, Institut Pasteur, Collège de France; Arthur R. Jensen, Professor of Educational Psychology, University of California; Richard Herrnstein, Professor of Psychology, Harvard University; C.D. Darlington, Professor of Botany, Oxford University; and John C. Kendrew, Nobel Prize-winner, Laboratory of Molecular Biology, Cambridge University.

Among those who signed this document, the SDS singled out Arthur Jensen, Richard Herrnstein, and Hans Eysenck for special attention. Of interest, also, is their list of heroic "anti-racists": Richard C. Lewontin, Jerry Hirsch, and Ashley Montagu.

To understand academic "anti-racism," let us take a closer look at an SDS publication recommended by a Far Left Associate Professor of Education, John G. Hurst, at Berkeley. This is a poorly produced, 26-page illustrated pamphlet entitled *Jensenism: A Closer Look*. The intellectual level is not high. Thus, on page 6 we come across a cartoon portraying a uniformed white police officer lying on the traditional Freudian couch and responding to key words put to him by a psychoanalyst. "Bread! Water! Black!" the psychoanalyst is asking; and the white police officer, who wears an ugly expression on his face, responds: "Eat! drink! kill!" The clear intent is to suggest that the capitalists employ racist police in their war against the workers, as represented by the blacks.

Similarly, page 9 of the leaflet represents a fat cigar-smoking capitalist, dressed in an expensive dark suit, complaining that "This is all very unfair! Intelligence isn't everything." Presumably this implies that all capitalists are crooks who owe their success to deceit and greed rather than intelligence. Similarly, page 12 reproduces a photograph of Hispanic rioters in full cry, with the caption that "Compensatory education programs were set up ONLY after thousands of Latin working people took to the streets in anger." Page 16 goes further and prints a photograph of a student meeting

at Southern University, suggestively captioned "STRUGGLE AT SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY, LA. IT BEGAN WITH A *SUCCESSFUL* FIGHT TO FIRE A TEACHER WHO PUSHED JENSEN'S THEORIES [our italics]." In short, the implication here is that unacceptable scientific views should be met not by reasoned argument but by violent demonstrations – and only the latter can be counted upon to ensure the dismissal of the targeted scholar from any university led by weak administrators.

In short, the SDS publishers exerted every effort to make sure that those who received their pamphlet, even if they did not trouble to read its tortuous Marxist rhetoric, would be sure to get the message from the captions of the pictures and the comic cartoons – which demonstrated nothing more than the imaginings of the cartoonist. Thus, another illustration on page 14 is a photograph of a black prisoner accused of a violent criminal offense. It is captioned: "Russell Magee was denied the right to act as his own attorney based on the fact that he scored low on an IQ test." While we are not told what offense Russell Magee was charged with, or how low his IQ was, the implication was that he was the victim of yet another capitalist maneuver to "deprive the people of their rights," rather than that in accordance with his Constitutional rights Magee was being given a free lawyer, paid for by the taxpayers, to help defend him because his low IQ made it impossible for him to understand court procedures. One may be sure that the SDS author approved the way Russell Magee held up his right arm, with clenched fist, presumably as evidence of his determination to continue the fight against capitalist oppression and 'academic racism.' The Marxist pamphlet explained once more that racism is the weapon of capitalism, and should be the prime target of Marxist activism.

A similar position was adopted by a Progressive Labor Party pamphlet, "RACISM, INTELLIGENCE AND THE WORKING CLASS", which was widely distributed free of charge on the Berkeley campus. This pamphlet alleged that like the older eugenics movement of the 1920s and 1930s, "today's eugenicists are similarly pushed by the rulers. Ever since the Supreme Court decision to integrate the schools in 1954 there have been a number of racist theoreticians operating mainly out of Southern universities..."

This statement directly contradicted the PLP's own claims that Jensen and other "hereditarians" were agents of capitalism, and is unconvincing since the Supreme Court is undoubtedly a major

element in "the establishment." Also, the U.S. government has pressed desegregation lawsuits based on the Supreme Court ruling against racial segregation in schools. Furthermore, few faculty members at southern universities ever dared to argue publicly against desegregation, whatever they thought about it. Their universities would have lost essential federal funding if they had. It has been in the *northern* universities that academic voices have been raised to protest the falsehood of policies rooted in Watson-Dewey theories of extreme environmentalist behaviorism.

Other PLP pamphlets we have inspected bear explanatory titles, ranging from "REVOLUTION, U.S.A." to "STUDENTS AND REVOLUTION." This latter describes the "role of education in advancing the bosses' ideology" and "a national strategy for smashing racism on the campus and uniting students with workers." Many of the pamphlets carry advertisements for cassettes of "the workers' struggles, many sung by the participants themselves in 'Motown' and 'folk' style."

The Marxists' position on heredity is exemplified by a Progressive Labor Party publication for students entitled: "HOW TO COMBAT JENSENISM." This opens by referring students to the works of Marxists such as Kamin and Lewontin for source material for combating the "Nazi, Shockley." It next condemns "racist psychologist" Dwight Ingle for protesting "reverse discrimination" and for warning that the Far Left was actively seeking to create "a kind of social paranoia, a belief that mysterious hostile forces are operating to cause inequalities in educational and occupational performance, despite all apparent efforts to eliminate prejudice and discrimination – a fertile ground for the generation of frustrations, suspicions and hates." Dwight Ingle was added to their "hit list" simply because he had identified their game – to spread dissatisfaction and revolution by preaching reverse racism.

The PLP also published a revealing manifesto which read as follows:

> We in the Progressive Labor Party ... intend to fight racism in all its forms. As a revolutionary communist party, we see racism, particularly this new cancerous growth of it in the 1970's, as the major obstacle to uniting all working people into a successful opposition to this whole capitalist system ... no movement for socialism in this country can even get off the ground without significantly defeating racism. Thus we have made the fight

> against racism our number one ideological task in the present period of time ... this movement must grow in order to win, and must involve hundreds of thousands of people who do not consider themselves revolutionaries.

The manifesto then lists concrete activist measures, which may be summarized as follows:

* In order to defeat these racist scholars, many thousands of students and intellectuals must come to see their 'science' as intellectual drivel. Activist measures must be introduced on every campus where even a single professor expresses support for "hereditarian" research or thought.
* Specific racist books and professors must be selected against which to build a mass campaign ... this has the positive effect of intimidating other racist professors ... it isn't bad for racists to worry a little bit if it keeps them from helping the rulers to push racism ... so selecting out one or two racist professors for attack, whatever the demands involved (for a ban on the book or professor, or simply for a presentation in class of the opposite view) sharpens up the whole struggle against racist ideology and strikes fear into the hearts of racists.
* utilize all media available ... contact could be made by anti-racist students and professors with organizations like teacher's unions, social worker organizations, church groups and other mass organizations where people would be open to an anti-racist position.
* All of these efforts should eventually link up with the off-campus struggles of black and white working people against more concrete attacks made by the ruling class.

Today, Marxist propaganda is generally – though not always, as we shall see in the chapter on Professor J. Philippe Rushton's experiences in London, Ontario – less strident and more subtle. It has lost much of its former hold over students, who have become more rational in their attitudes and today often resent the Leftist propaganda which many professors feed to them. Instead, however, it has secured much greater influence in the media and among university faculty and administrators. The former activist students have grown up and become "respectable," but retain

behind the collar and tie the same emotional biases that motivated them in their youth. The threat is not so commonly one of violence, as in the 1960s and early 1970s – although this still occurs – but with many of the Marxists of the 1960s having become part of the academic establishment, the threat to freedom of speech, often referred to today as the demand for "political correctness," is in many ways even more immediate and serious.

4 / ARTHUR JENSEN

Arthur Jensen, who at one time worked with Hans Eysenck in London, has been the foremost researcher responsible for the revival of "hereditarian" thought in recent decades. As a psychologist who became interested in the extent to which heredity determined intelligence, his research anticipated the significant progress which has since been made by geneticists. A scholar of many talents, who might in contemporary language be termed a Renaissance Man, it was precisely because of his distinction as a scholar that he became the central focus of the Far Left's attacks on any who dared refer to genetically-based disparities in human abilities. It was Jensen's research into the nature of intelligence that attracted the attention of Richard Herrnstein of Harvard University, as well as the distinguished mathematician and physicist, William Shockley, who quickly saw the validity of Jensen's research and became an active champion of the conclusions he considered to be inherent in Jensen's work – humankind's need for a practical but strictly voluntary eugenics program.

Eugenics, as we have seen, is founded on the idea that human behavioral potential is rooted in inherited qualities, and this infuriates Leftist ideologues, who seek to argue that all humankind is biologically equal, and that it is capitalism and only capitalist exploitation that creates the differences in achievement which distinguish one individual from another or one race from another. Thus, the PLP publication *Progressive Labor* warned in April 1973, in an article entitled "Racism: No. 1 Enemy of U.S. Workers," that "academic racism" undermines Communist ideology. Consequently, Marxists need to build "an *offensive* communist strategy against racism"[their emphasis], and the Progressive Labor Party urged activists to: "heat up the class struggle by bringing about class unity in struggle across racial lines ... we need courses on racism that can be the core of a campaign, with lunch-time lectures, films, speakers from anti-racist struggles, columns in the campus press and interviews on campus radio – courses affiliated with the Black

Studies or similar programs ... we can deepen the anti-racist sentiment that exists, by sharp exposure of the new racism that the big bankers want to replace it with." Their program, in short, was "aimed at running the few racists off the campuses," and the name of Jensen was prominent among the scholars they targeted. "Mobilizing Students, Intellectuals Against Racism,"(*Progressive Labor*, July 1973)

While Leftist student and faculty activists, reinforced by a large segment of the news media, sought to negate evidence of the heritability of IQ and other qualities which contribute to human success as "racist," Jensen's accepted eminence in the field of psychology made it even more important for the Far Left to block him in order to defend their clumsily constructed but ideologically-necessary dogma of the biological equality of mankind. How would it be possible to blame capitalism for inequality if scientists were permitted to show that all people and all races are simply not biologically equal? Jensen became their prime target, because he had argued that genetic factors were 80% responsible for differences in intelligence among humans and that serious dysgenic trends were in place in the Western world.

Jensen's Background

Jensen was a professional musician and aspiring symphony conductor at the age of seventeen. Music, not psychology, was his first love. Indeed, he humorously described himself to one news reporter as "a frustrated symphony conductor," but as an undergraduate student he developed an interest in psychology. His initial training emphasized the psychoanalytic tradition, and in his early days his orientation was almost exclusively environmentalist.

Taking his B.A. in psychology at Berkeley in 1945, Jensen obtained an M.A. at San Diego and a Ph.D. in clinical psychology at Columbia University in 1956. However, he slowly came to question whether the case study approach to psychology was adequate, and he was enthusiastic when he came across Hans Eysenck's *The Scientific Study of Personality* (Greenwood, 1952), which stressed a more statistical, quantitative and experimental approach to psychological research. Jensen took post-graduate work in London under Eysenck's direction.

Concentrating initially on the question of memory, Jensen became an expert on the psychology of human learning. It was Eysenck's emphasis on quantitative facts rather than his interest in

genetic factors that first impressed Jensen. And although in London Jensen attended a lecture by the renowned Sir Cyril Burt and admired that famous scholar's presentation, he did not immediately feel impelled to enquire further into the role of genetics in determining human mental processes.

Returning to America to take up a teaching post at his alma mater, the University of California at Berkeley, Jensen continued his research into human learning. However, a puzzling phenomenon reported to him by one of his graduate students caused him to ask questions which demanded answers that went beyond his earlier concepts.

While working at a school for retarded students, one of Jensen's graduate students noted that although both the white and the black students seemed to be retarded in the classroom, with more or less equal ability at academic tasks, the white youngsters appeared to be retarded in their recreational behavior also (i.e. they were genuinely retarded) while the black students behaved more or less normally outside the classroom and were only "retarded" when it came to tackling intellectual problems.

Seeking to explain this disparity, Jensen developed the idea that there must be two separate but interrelated levels of human intelligence. Learning tasks involving memory belonged to what he called Level I activity: these were guided by the same Direct Learning skills he had been studying for years. The process of rote learning involved abilities in the receipt, storage, and output of untransformed information. A second level of intelligence, however, related to the active processing of information – the internal transformation of inputs to determine appropriate responses. Reasoning and abstraction were the kernel of this Level II ability.

Level II, Jensen concluded, was responsible for most intellectual achievement beyond the very early stages of a child's education. The reason the black children in the special classes behaved normally at play while the white children alongside them remained backward even in their leisure time was that the black children as a group were less competent than normal whites in Level II of mental ability. It was for this reason – not because they were seriously retarded – that they could perform recreational activities (Level I) quite normally, while being no better than the genuinely retarded white students alongside them in academic pursuits (Level II activity).

Recognizing the significance of this theory, which explained the statistically diverse abilities of the members of different ethnic groups to perform effectively in IQ tests (a Level II activity), Jensen began to research statistical evidence relating to the heritability of the two levels of intelligence, both within and between ethnic groups. Once it was conceived that heritability might affect the distribution of skills in the *two different* levels of mental ability, the question of an identifiable IQ "gap" based upon race, which could not be adequately explained by purely environmental causes, ceased to be a problem. Nature and Nurture were no longer to be seen as opposing and mutually exclusive theories, but as two forces, the one genetic and the other environmental, which together shaped human personality just as they interacted to shape the character of every other living thing on this earth.

It was from these researches that Jensen was able to refine earlier work concerning IQ differences based on race. He took the view that due weight must be given to the biological basis of individual and group differences in educationally relevant traits. While opponents at first sought vehemently to deny that genetically determined differences existed, today – largely due to Jensen's laborious compilation and analysis of statistical data, reinforced by his well-reasoned expositions – few would care to deny that genetic forces play a substantial role shaping human behavior and human personality, including intelligence. Today his opponents restrict themselves to arguing about the *degree* to which heredity, as distinct from life history, is responsible for personality. Such has been the impact of Jensen upon the world of psychology. Unfortunately, few are yet ready to recognize that the genetic component is more vital than the environmental so far as the long term prospects of humanity are concerned, since dysgenic trends reduce the capacity of future generations to cope with environmental factors.

Although his more bitter opponents – who usually hold strong Leftist socio-political convictions – accuse Jensen of "racism" in the negative sense which implies hatred, they cannot effectively fault his arguments about racial differences. Perhaps knowingly, they prefer to overlook his background as an early environmentalist and his deep personal sympathy toward the plight of those of any race who are less favorably equipped with reasoning ability. Jensen, it should not be overlooked, was a man who had an early fascination with the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi, opposed the Viet Nam War,

and paid his dues regularly to the American Civil Liberties Union. He believed, in his own words, that a man should "use his life in ways relevant to serving his fellow men." And that is precisely what he did.

Jensen's research covered such a breadth of data, and is so thoroughly reasoned, that it has been widely accepted in the academic world, with a few significant exceptions. Those who criticize him are usually of Leftist political persuasion; and in view of the political implications of any discussion about race, his work has generally been adversely reported in the media. However, data from diverse continents and even from communist countries have been analyzed and found to support his findings. As Jensen himself has pointed out, researchers in communist countries have noted the same correlations between children's IQs and the occupational classifications of their parents that researchers in the capitalist West have observed. Similarly, communist researchers interpret these differences as largely attributable to genetic factors.

Even though Jensen's views have been widely accepted in the academic world, Leftist opposition (both within academe and outside) has prevented his research from being known or accepted by the general public. It has therefore failed to affect legislation. This is largely attributable to the treatment given to his views in the media, which have favored the views expressed by his Marxist and Left-leaning opponents in academe, and to an inherent unwillingness of people to face troublesome facts. Jensen has addressed the widespread reluctance of society to grapple with the problem of dysgenics. This reluctance to face the significance of both group (ethnic and racial) and individual differences in inherited intellectual abilities is rooted in the tendency shown by most individuals to remain on the remote fringes of any controversial subject to sidestep central questions, blur the issues, and tolerate a degree of vagueness in definitions, concepts and inferences that would be unseemly in any other realm of scientific discourse. As Jensen put it: "Some agree with me, but say we shouldn't talk about socially disruptive things, but keep them in cloistered scientific circles, as if the truth should be the science of the élite and not the general public." ("Racial Intelligence Findings Explained," *The Oregonian*, April 29, 1972)

The *Harvard Educational Review* Article

As Jensen's creative contributions to psychology became better

known, he was invited by the student editors of the *Harvard Educational Review* to prepare a manuscript summarizing his views on inheritance and IQ. The article, published in February 1969, was entitled "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?" Researched and documented in impressive detail, it immediately drew the attention of a wide audience, which included not only the academic community but – through the mass media – numerous policy-makers in Washington. From that point on, Jensen was to be assured the eternal enmity of the Left, eager to defend the integrity of Marxian thought and the essential concepts on which they relied as justification for advocating violent revolution. He was also faced with an assortment of more moderate idealists and of interested parties who had a vested interest in continuing the ever more ambitious social spending programs, which were rooted in the environmentalist doctrine that legislation could create a state of equality in the human condition.

Possibly the best example of how the Left reacted to Jensen's *HER* article, which took up almost an entire issue of that periodical, is to be found in the SDS pamphlet entitled "Jensenism: A Closer Look." (Undated) Supported by quotations from the French Marxist-Existentialist Jean Paul Sartre about the evils of racism in France, and from the writings of Richard Lewontin in America ("racism is the key social weapon used by the 'haves' to enforce the status quo on the 'have nots'"), the authors describe Jensen as "a psych prof here who reincarnated the old spirit of biological supremacy." Under the heading "Jensen's Pseudoscience," (*Jensenism: A Closer Look*, p. 7) the pamphlet began by summarizing Jensen's article for the benefit of the readers who were most unlikely ever to read the *Harvard Educational Review* or even understand for themselves what Jensen was saying. The authors explained that:

> Jensen's article in the *Harvard Educational Review (HER)* is highly technical and difficult to understand [the authors have no illusions about the intellectual competency of those who read their pamphlets]; this section of our pamphlet hopes to present a concise analysis and critique of "Jensenism." Following Hurst [John Hurst, an associate professor in the Berkeley education department who obviously assisted the SDS], we have found it easiest to divide the *HER* article into 5 hypotheses, each of which builds on the one(s) before it:

1. Intelligence, measured by IQ scores, is a "real trait," like height, and is a person's most important mental ability.
2. Intelligence (IQ) is predominantly determined (restricted) by one's genes.
3. Class and race differences in intelligence are primarily the result of genetic differences.
4. Compensatory education has failed, largely because such differences have not been taken into account.
5. Black children are poorer at cognitive learning (abstract reasoning) than whites.

The SDS publication then went on to explain why the authors opposed any scientific theory or the publication of any data that identified genetics as having anything to do with either individual or group mental abilities. This, they said, was capitalist propaganda. The possibility that some people were more productive than others, and especially that this might be due to inherited qualities, was clearly destructive to the hate they attempted to preach in support of their revolutionary goals to seize political power. Consequently Jensen, while simply seeking to explore reality and determine the truth, became a threat to the entire Marxist construct, political as well as philosophical, and had to be stopped. No doubt they hoped to ensure his dismissal from the university world, but at the least they planned to ensure that his ability to spread the truth should be restricted by every possible effort. "No Free Speech for Racists" became their slogan.

Thus, accused by the Left of "racism" in the pejorative sense in which that term is usually used, Jensen sought to clarify still further the social and economic implications of his discovery, so that the significance of what he was saying and the emptiness of the canards raised against him might be appreciated. He pointed out that "a problem which is socially more important than the question of racial differences, *per se*, is the high probability of dysgenic trends in our urban slums. At least 16% of black children (as compared with less than 2% of white children) in our nation's schools are mentally retarded by the criterion of IQs under 70, and their scholastic performance is commensurate with this level of ability. The figure is much higher in 'inner city' schools, and these children come from the largest families. How much of this retardation is attributable to genetic factors, and how much to environmental influences, we do not know. It is my position we

should try and find out." (Letter to the Editor, *New York Times Magazine*, Sept. 15, 1969)

In short, Jensen was not alleging that all blacks were intellectually inferior to all whites – he made that repeatedly clear in his writings – but he *was* anxious that society should be aware of the dysgenic trends at work in the contemporary Western world. Blacks were particularly threatened by this trend, since those blacks who had the ability generally rose out of the ghettos and moved into higher income groups where they usually had fewer children than the less intelligent blacks who remained trapped by their own inability to achieve intellectually. In consequence, to the extent that intelligence was determined by inheritance, and his research indicated that this might be as high as 80%, each successive generation of blacks would become intellectually weaker. Indeed, a wide genetic and economic gap might be expected to appear, separating blacks with genes for higher intelligence from those with a poorer heritage in this important area of behavioral ability.

The Far Left attempted to bury Jensen's findings by the customary Marxist accusations that he was a hireling of the Rockefellers and international capitalists – that he sought to deprive minorities of all environmental aid in order to keep them as cheap labor for capitalist employers. Yet as more balanced observers such as Professor William Havender have observed: "Despite what the radicals continuously alleged, Jensen never advocated ending Head Start [or other programs designed to give every possible environmental assistance to help compensate for biological handicaps]." He continued: "Jensen carefully advances innovative suggestions aimed specifically at increasing the effectiveness of education ... for these (black) children." ("Sense and Nonsense About the Jensenist Heresy," *The Alternative: An American Spectator*, April 7, 1976)

Recognizing the news potential of accusations of "racism' against Jensen, the media seized on any criticism of Jensen's research they could find when they heard this kind of reaction to Jensen's *HER* article. The student editors of the *Harvard Educational Review*, who had their careers to think of and probably did not realize that they had trespassed on dangerous ground, took fright. The edition containing Jensen's article sold out rapidly, and out of fear of adverse publicity – which they felt could ruin their careers – the student editors decided against reprinting. Even Jensen could not obtain the copies of his own article which are normally sent to

authors, and he received a multitude of complaints from scholars who could not get a copy from any source.

Typical is the letter, dated Nov. 17, 1969, that Jensen received from David Rosenthal, Chief of the Laboratory of Psychology at the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Institute of Mental Health, Bethesda, Maryland:

> Dear Dr. Jensen,
>
> I am one of those who has tried to get a copy of the Harvard Educational Review issue that has stirred up such an outcry ... My own poorly xeroxed copy is barely readable, but I was able to discern in it a high-level job by a man who was well on top of his field. Congratulations. The attempted rebuttals that I have seen, on the other hand, have been weak, with more emotion than rebuttal ..." (AJ Personal Papers)

Professor Milgram, of the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, may be cited as another of the scholars who wrote privately to express support, few of whom, however, made their support known to the media:

> Dear Dr. Jensen:
>
> We are all, I think, a little ashamed of some of the treatment you have received as a result of your scholarly article on intelligence test scores. You should know, however, that the vast majority of psychologists stand fully behind you in your attempt to explore the meaning of intelligence and to present your ideas of the truths that underlie them. (Letter dated May 21, 1969 in AJ Personal Papers)

Snyderman and Rothman have since confirmed that early prognosis in their book *The IQ Controversy: The Media and Public Policy,* (Transaction Books, 1988) which is discussed in a later chapter. But the pressure on Jensen was only just beginning.

A radical group within the American Psychological Association (APA) that called itself "Psychologists for Social Action" clamored for Jensen's expulsion from membership in the APA, and radicals at the 1969 convention of the American Anthropological Association actually managed to push through a resolution condemning Jensen for his interest in heredity and IQ and urging members to make use of "the national and local media" in order to combat

"academic racism."

Since then, The National Education Association, the NAACP and the "Association of Black Psychologists" have all attempted in one way or another to ban, or at least to discourage, the use of standardized tests.

Richard C. Lewontin

A number of highly vocal Leftist scholars also sought to attack Jensen, both in writing and by more indirect methods through scholarly associations. Notable among those who attacked Jensen in writing were Lewontin, Martin Deutsch, and Jerry Hirsch, in that order of consequence. It is worth noting that, because of its zeal, cohesion and media sympathy, the Left can assemble a highly organized contingent to silence a foe or to damage his or her reputation.

The victims of such attacks generally have no comparable artillery on which to rely during these battles, since they themselves are rarely politically motivated, and therefore have no comparable network of activist allies. Only the strength of their data, research, and the use of incontrovertible fact, is able to provide them with any defense against orchestrated broadsides emanating from several directions at once.

It would have been out of character if nobody from the Marxist-aligned *Science for the People* group had come forward to attempt to rebut Jensen. Richard Lewontin, then at the University of Chicago, stepped into the breach. In an article which appeared in the impressive-sounding *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* ("Race and Intelligence," March 1970), and frequently quoted by the SDS, Lewontin attempted to refute Jensen by using slanted debating techniques rather than reason:

> In the Spring of 1953, Pope Innocent X condemned a pernicious heresy which espoused the doctrines of 'total depravity, irresistible grace, lack of free will, predestination and limited atonement.' That heresy was Jansenism and its author was Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres.
>
> In the winter of 1968 the same doctrine appeared in the *Harvard Educational Review*. That doctrine is now called "jensenism."

The article belittled William Shockley, the Nobel Laureate in

physics and author of some four hundred scientific articles, whom it referred to as "the eminent Anglo-Saxon inventor," and described Edward L. Thorndike, possibly America's greatest psychologist and a pioneer in twin studies of the heritability of intelligence, as a "Methodist Yankee." In short, Lewontin' arguments relied heavily upon prejudice and pejorative ridicule.

Lewontin went on to complain that "Jensen has surely become the most discussed and least read essayist since Karl Marx." Lewontin has a way with phrases – he is an effective writer – and his style had its impact. Nobody worried about the fact that the Pope had persecuted Galileo for advancing truth in the face of established prejudice, or that modern science might be more sympathetic to Bishop Jansen than to Pope Innocent X. Most cultured people enjoy historical references, and Lewontin is to be complimented on the quality of his propagandist debating style, though not on his objectivity or his intellectual morality.

What we must remember is that Lewontin favors Marxist philosophy. This he showed in a talk he gave at Berkeley on April 4, 1973, when he stated that racism was "the key social weapon" used by the "haves" to enforce the status quo on the "have nots." He proceeded to accuse Jensen of reincarnating "the old spirit of biological supremacy" and was quoted not only in the *Daily Californian* (April 5, 1973) but in various publications of the Students for Democratic Society – whose ideology was close to Lewontin's own political interests.

The *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* provided space for Jensen to reply to Lewontin, which he did in an effective scholarly manner, eschewing Lewontin's dramatic but less logical debating style. He pointed out, among other things, that Lewontin totally ignored one of his main theses, "a problem which is more important than the question of racial differences per se, namely, the high probability of dysgenic trends in our urban slums." ("Race and Genetics in Intelligence: A Reply to Lewontin," May, 1970). It was reality, and care for the future of the human species, that concerned Jensen, not petty squabbling, the sole purpose of which was to defend an indefensible ideology the absurd pretension that all human individuals are born with equal – which logically means "identical" – biological potential, and that what happens to them after that is solely the product of environmental factors rooted in political conflict, in short – class warfare.

Martin Deutsch

But the ammunition used in subsequent quasi-academic attacks on Jensen was even more questionable; it consisted of an unsubstantiated charge made by a certain Martin Deutsch that he had identified fully "53 major errors or misinterpretations" in Jensen's *HER* article. Deutsch had credibility as director of the Institute for Developmental Studies at New York University's School of Education, but when asked to list the errors he claimed to have found he simply stonewalled. A direct transcription from tape recordings of Deutsch's comments at Michigan State University on July 8, 1969 records his public allegation that Jensen had perpetrated a fraud on the academic community. In these remarks Deutsch charged that he had found "... really abominable misinterpretations that Arthur Jensen placed on the psychological literature in his discussion in the Winter issue [of *HER*]." He alleged, without providing data to substantiate his remarks, that:

> ... certain of my associates and myself have spent the last eight weeks going through every single one of Arthur Jensen's references and we found fifty-three major errors or misinterpretations, all of them unidimensional and all of them anti-black. So we felt from this that there may be another element, not a scientific one, that had entered into the construction of the original article.

Deutsch's charges were circulated widely among the international community of psychologists. Scurrilous though they proved to be, his comments formed the cornerstone of every argument that was then raised against Jensen's paper. Jensen, meantime, could not refute Deutsch's charge since *Deutsch repeatedly evaded all requests that he identify the 53 errors he claimed to have found.* In correspondence to Deutsch, Jensen tried to obtain a list of the alleged errors in his work, so that he could examine these and respond to the allegations which amounted to an academic smear. But Deutsch consistently refused to back up his statement with any such list. Other writers glibly referred to Deutsch's identification of "53 errors" in Jensen's work, but nobody could learn what these were.

The extent of Deutsch's evasion surfaced in 1970 when, still failing to supply a list of the alleged errors, he refused point blank to correspond further with Jensen (whose tone in all letters to Deutsch was restrained, polite, and scholarly.)

Because of the widespread publicity given to Deutsch's allegation, Jensen was obliged to ask that the American Psychological Association investigate the matter, since a serious breach of academic ethics was involved. In a February 1971 letter to Dr. Fred Strassburger of the American Psychological Association (APA), in Washington, D.C., Jensen raised several pertinent questions. He asked that the Association request an "honorable response" from Deutsch.

Jensen wrote:

> ... A copy of Deutsch's article in the *Review* (Summer 1969) will, of course, not do the job. There he claims "17 errors in a casual perusal" (*HER*, Summer 1969, p. 524); again, he claims they are all in the same direction! He gives only three examples of these alleged errors, but when these are checked, it turns out that not one is an *error*!
>
> ... The same thing happened to Ellis Page of the University of Connecticut. I am actually trying to identify all errors in the article, so that any real errors can be corrected in footnotes in a reprinting of the article ... All of the important points have been checked and double-checked by some of the most qualified persons in genetics and psychometrics. I doubt if any article in the history of psychology has been more carefully checked by more qualified persons.

Eventually, under pressure from fellow psychologists, and responding to an article by Bernard Rice in *Psychology Today* in 1973 criticizing him and defending Jensen, Deutsch admitted in a letter dated Dec. 10, 1973 to T. George Harriss, editor of *Psychology Today,* that his statement about 53 errors had been an off-the-cuff reply to a question from the audience, and he had not realized that "without [his] knowledge or consent (and several years before Watergate) someone in the audience had taped my talk ... I have never heard the tape; it took me two years to get a copy of the transcript, whose veracity I have no way of confirming. I don't even know for sure that I made any such statement." He now attempted to prepare a list of the errors, on production of which Jensen promptly demonstrated that there was indeed only one error on the entire list, and that was a typing error of no academic significance.

However, undoing the damage caused by Deutsch's "53 error"

further recorded his resentment of a scholarly reviewer who had written that "[Jensen] may find his position politically distasteful but ... it is the only way to maintain his scientific integrity ... Jensen has done his homework."

Mumbling accusations of "fakery," Hirsch condemned the many eminent scholars who had publicly praised Jensen's work, listing Philip E. Vernon, Hans Eysenck, R.J. Herrnstein, L. Eaves, Ernst Mayr, and Nobel Laureate Sir Peter Medawar. All of these, he said, had been "duped" by Jensenism – along with the majority of the psychological community. Bitterly, he admitted "even Dobzhansky nods sympathetically" in favor of Jensen's research.

Hirsch's condemnation of Jensen relies heavily upon invective. Thus he alleges that Jensen's views are "as heinously barbaric as were Hitler's and the anti-abolitionists." As evidence he quotes the following passage from Jensen's writings: "Is there a danger," writes Jensen," that current welfare policies, unaided by *eugenic foresight* [Hirsch's italics], could lead to the genetic enslavement of a substantial segment of our population?" Hirsch ignores Jensen's humanitarian concern about the evils arising from the high rate of reproduction among the less intelligent welfare mothers of the ghettos. Instead he makes dark references to "Jensenism" as creating a "new psychosocial ailment among scientists which may not be wholly unrelated to the gangster tradition of dead-end kids" and to "an intellectual Watergate." He sums up with the comment that: "either Jensenists knew what was being perpetrated and are therefore responsible, or did not and are therefore irresponsible. Like few other things, Jensenism demonstrates today why science without scholarship is bankrupt."

Hirsch's readers will readily agree that "science without scholarship is bankrupt," but those who compare Jensen's work with that of Hirsch may well ask who it is that lacks the scholarship: Jensen or Hirsch?

The Attack on Jensen Gains Momentum

Opposition to Jensen, and subsequent attempts by organized student groups to prevent him from speaking, emanated mainly from acknowledged Marxist groups. *Racism, Intelligence, and the Working Class*, a 1973 Progressive Labor Party (PLP) publication,

> ... is simply relating/restating in modern scientific jargon and with more contemporary sources, the old thesis [of racism and National Socialist dogma] ... 'His indebtedness to racist pseudo-science of a bygone era is revealed ... every stereotype imaginable is reinforced by his treatment of black/white differences ...'

The PLP booklet then noted that "even if minor physiological differences do exist between racial groups, and they probably do, they mean nothing." The Left was not willing to concede that from a scientific, dispassionate standpoint the issue might well be worthy of the investigation proposed by Shockley and Jensen.

Jensen was repeatedly singled out as "the leader" of a group of academics advancing purportedly racialist doctrines. Thus the PLP booklet continued:

> Clearly Jensen and his allies Herrnstein and Shockley are aware of the political implications of their theories. Often they spell them out themselves. They also know well the work of their eugenicist ancestors from Terman to Eichmann. We have seen the falseness of their arguments over and over again – on the questions of IQ, the nature of intelligence, its heritability, the alleged failure of compensatory education, and on the question of racial differences in intelligence. It is evident that their science, as put forward by their leader Jensen, is a hoax. Their reasons for advocating racism, therefore, are not scientific but political. These men are, without exaggeration, Nazis.

The PLP monthly magazine, *Progressive Labor* (April 1973) carried an equally vitriolic assault on the Californian professor. "The main theme of bourgeois social science ... was 'nativism,' while "theories of race inferiority were initiated directly by the ruling class ... in response to the working class revolution all around the world." According to the PLP, Hitlerian Germany "was way behind the U.S." and "theories of Jensen and Co. are substantially the same as those of this earlier period."

Tracing the supposed history of eugenics, PLP writers asserted that it was the U.S. ruling class that had created the movement. "Today, Jensen and Co. are veritable alchemists when it comes to juggling statistics, ignoring data that proves them wrong, and so on." The fact which PLP leaders dare not reveal to their followers is that most students of genetics and allied sciences actually have

come to agree with the basic contention of Jensen that heredity plays a substantial role in determining the intelligence of an individual.

Equally fallacious is the PLP contention that the capitalist Establishment, including the Carnegie, Schiff, Harriman and Rockefeller-funded titan foundations, promoted "racialist" research. To support its claims that eugenics was funded by these foundations, the PLP simply lists their connections to the super-rich. In reality, however, contrary to PLP arguments, many of the largest tax-exempt foundations have been at the cutting edge of liberal thought in respect of race and governmental race policy, with some positive and some negative effects on society. In the 1960s and 1970s, a large number of integrationist and anti-racialist projects were funded by clearly capitalist groups such as the Ford Foundation.

A year later, a PLP publication urged readers to "organize and smash racists in their classes!" Students were urged to sign up for classes where Jensen and any would-be supporters taught in order to "pack the class" and assist the process of "confronting racists like Jensen directly." With Jensen teaching at Berkeley, a campus on which the radicals were strong, the extremists had ample opportunity at that university to create trouble, and in true Marxist style, intimidate all opponents – faculty and students alike.

Threats of physical violence began to mount against Jensen; and by 1975 a new player entered the scene. Lyndon LaRouche's U.S. Labor Party (USLP) was then citing Jensen as a "war criminal." Signs proclaiming "Kill Jensen" (authorship unknown) actually appeared on campus walls and on placards carried at numerous demonstrations. All this, and the actions of assorted Marxist critics of Jensen, convinced the campus security at Berkeley that there was a potential threat to the lives of Jensen and his family. Similar intimidation was practiced on other scholars who dared to discuss racial differences. Harvard's Richard Herrnstein was placed on "Wanted" lists distributed by SDS members, and "Wanted, Dead or Alive" leaflets bearing Shockley's photograph were handed out on various campuses.

Not to be outdone by the Progressive Labor Party, the Students for Democratic Society published various treatises on Jensen. In 1969 there was a split of sorts between Progressive Labor and the equally militant SDS. As is often the case in Marxist rivalry, the differences were over tactics, not goals. The SDS pamphlet

Jensenism: A Closer Look, already mentioned, told its readers that "Jensen has been hailed by racists the world over," and dubbed him "the crown prince of pseudo-scientific racism." It was able to recount victories on other campuses, including the dismissal of a professor who had supported Jensen's views too openly. Clearly, Jensen warranted enough attention from the Far Left to become *the* prime target of their anti-heredity campaign.

Organized Campus Disruptions

The core of campus opposition to "Jensenism" increasingly came to center on the Students for a Democratic Society, which now organized a mass campus campaign to "smash the new eugenicism," in competition with the PLP.

Both of these mutually sympathetic, militant, and often violent Marxist organizations were by now experienced in the tactics of campus and civil disruption. They oversaw a worldwide communications network among radical groups. Largely campus-based, both organizations freely associated with the most determined Marxists across the globe, and recognized the value of utilizing student cannon fodder. Both were skilled in techniques of self-promotion and in using visual media to suit "agitprop" goals. The SDS and the PLP were well equipped to identify potentially hot issues that would serve their political ends. The two groups argued for a "worker-student alliance" as a basis for mass revolution, according to Harvey Klehr in *The Far Left in Contemporary America* (Transaction Books, 1988).

Determined to silence academics from speaking about racial differences or about inherited differences in human ability, it would seem that the Marxist student organizations determined to make an example of Jensen.

Returning from a sabbatical in England during the academic year 1972/73, Jensen was invited to speak to research psychologists at the Personnel Research Center of the Naval Electronics Laboratory. Unfortunately, word of his presence in San Diego led to a radio announcement by a black activist group calling for demonstrations against his talk. Although navy security was such that the proceedings were not disrupted, those who sponsored the talk were subjected to considerable telephone and other harassment.

Shortly afterwards, Jensen was invited to speak at the Salk Institute in La Jolla on the subject of twin research. Between 50 and 100 demonstrators packed themselves into the auditorium to

prevent him from being heard. Unable to control the demonstrators, the Salk officials became seriously alarmed at the possibility of open violence, and felt obliged to smuggle Jensen out by the back exit to avoid a physical assault upon his person.

Next, Jensen was scheduled to address the annual convention of the American Educational Research Association at the Palmer House in Chicago. Here, in the Red Lacquer Ballroom, Jensen was to be introduced by the famous factor analyst, Professor Henry F. Kaiser, to an audience of over 700 scholars. Since it was known that the Progressive Labor Party planned a massive demonstration and had been handing out leaflets the day before the address was scheduled, the AERA officials met the night before the talk with hotel detectives and Chicago police officials. It was decided that 40 policemen would be stationed in a nearby room and that the tactical squad of the Chicago Police would be present. Jensen recollects that the convention officials, who had not had as much experience as he had with demonstrations seemed overly timid about controlling the demonstrators, and decided to allow the demonstrators five minutes before his talk to present their case against allowing Jensen to speak, hoping that this show of tolerance would meet with an equivalently fair-minded response from the PLP. The police, who knew better, warned against this tactic, but without success. Foreseeing the makings of a fiasco, Jensen had the presence of mind to consult the Yellow Pages of the Chicago telephone directory, take a cab to an all-night printer, and have 700 copies of his address reproduced. The several cartons of copies were set under the table on the stage.

As soon as Jensen took his place at the table, Professor Kaiser rose and in accordance with the decision of the convention officials, introduced the spokesman of the PLP and said that he had been allocated five minutes out of Jensen's time in which to explain his objections. At this point the PLP leader came to the podium, grabbed Professor Jensen's lecture notes, tore them up and threw them in his face. He then launched into a lengthy harangue which far exceeded the agreed five minutes. The demonstrators went wild; and when Jensen was introduced by Kaiser, pandemonium broke loose and Jensen's voice was drowned by din of mechanical noise makers, hoots, and yells emanating from demonstrators dispersed among the audience. The TV cameras captured the entire demonstration, showing selected excerpts on the evening news.

Unable to be heard above the noise, Jensen then announced

over the microphone that copies of his address were available up front, and a few of his friends came forward to help distribute them to the audience, who otherwise were obviously not going to have the opportunity to hear what he had come to say. Determined to prevent this from happening, the angry demonstrators rushed the stage; and Jensen was only saved by the presence of the eight-man, one-woman tactical squad of the Chicago Police who were sitting in the front row dressed like demonstrators. Unable to hold back so many demonstrators, the police concentrated on protecting Jensen and Kaiser, grabbing them and rushing them through a back exit to a freight elevator, through a rear door, and into a police car. That was the end of the excitement for Professors Jensen and Kaiser, except that the police kindly took them to lunch at a pleasant Greek restaurant, compliments, they said, of Mayor Daley. Jensen's address, which could not even be handed out to the audience, was requested by (and printed in) the *Encyclopedia Britannica Yearbook*.

Shortly afterwards, Jensen was invited to speak at a synagogue in Berkeley, but here he was prevented from making his presentation by an anonymous bomb threat phoned in just before he was to speak. A police squad was called, the hall was cleared, and outside Jensen found his tires had been slashed. The outcome was that he was driven home by a kindly and apologetic program chairman.

Another occasion on which Jensen was prevented from speaking was at UCLA. Jensen had been invited to participate in a lecture series at the Brain Research Institute of the UCLA medical center. His subject was the implications of twin studies. An audience of around 100-150 was expected for the lecture which had been scheduled in a hall which would house 200 maximum. However, apprised by activists of Jensen's scheduled lecture, the student paper, *The Daily Bruin*, ran an editorial calling for an all-out protest against his appearance. As a result, a crowd of some 600 turned up, comprising not only genuine students interested in hearing his talk, but a massive number of demonstrators. The auditorium was dangerously crowded, and the situation rapidly became riotous. Consequently, on Jensen's arrival he was escorted by campus police to a nearby office and put in telephone contact with the Chancellor of the University, who asked him to cancel the lecture because it was impossible to find a larger hall at such short notice and the university could not guarantee his safety.

Accepting the Chancellor's plea, Jensen was moved by the security police to a 'safer' room until more police could arrive to escort him from the campus. Completely surrounded by police, he was escorted first to the police station, and then to the home of a UCLA professor (a noted brain specialist), where he spoke to a small and but quickly assembled "seminar" comprising only a dozen or so faculty members and graduate students. All those others who had hoped to hear Jensen were cheated of their rights by the organizers of the demonstration.

Yet another incident occurred in which Professor Jensen was altogether prevented from speaking. This was the lecture described by Professor Sandra Scarr, as quoted in our Preface. Jensen was to give a technical lecture on "A Methodological Aspect of Quantitative Genetics (GE Covariance)." An audience of about 200 assembled to hear him (including perhaps as many as 100 demonstrators), but while Jensen was making his way to the speaker's platform a near riot broke out. He was spat upon by demonstrators who also called Sandra Scarr obscene names for inviting him to the campus. Jensen was booed and jeered at, and fist fights broke out in the audience. Police were called and came almost instantly. Unable to control the rioters, they hustled Jensen out of the hall into a police car and drove him across campus with a mob of demonstrators in pursuit. Depositing him at the office of the director of the Institute of Child Study, the police made the mistake of assuming that he was safe and left; but no sooner had they left, than the demonstrators rushed into the office. The director, Willard Hartup, fearing for Jensen's safety, shoved him into a storage closet and locked the door, while his secretary called the police back. Professor Hartup and two or three of his male graduate students fought off the demonstrators until the police arrived to break up the riot. Another smaller meeting with an invited audience was scheduled to hear Jensen later that same day. This time faculty and police were stationed at the door of the lecture room to screen out anyone they did not recognize as faculty or graduate students belonging to the department, and this time the lecture went off successfully. Jensen was later told by Professors Bouchard and Scarr that the demonstration had been instigated by a faculty member who was the campus's leading Marxist and whose wife was active among the more vociferous demonstrators. Learning her identity, Jensen realized that she had also participated in an invasive demonstration, designed by outsiders, to disrupt

his own class at Berkeley a couple of years before, and also that he had seen and recognized her in the Minnesota demonstration.

The participation of Leftist faculty members in these attempts to limit freedom of speech in academe is notable. In 1974, prior to an invited address by Jensen to the American Psychological Association on test bias, the president of the association, Donald Campbell, addressing an open meeting, said he hoped there would be no physical violence at Jensen's address (which broke attendance records for any event at that year's convention, including Campbell's Presidential address), because "there may be people who would object to that," but he hoped everyone would come and there would be "plenty of hissing and booing."

This statement justifiably angered the program committee that had invited Jensen and the committee went into the breakfast meeting of the APA Board of Directors the following morning and demanded that Campbell apologize to them and to Jensen at the general Council Meeting later that morning. He at first refused, but two of the Directors (professors Brewster Smith and Lloyd Humphreys) were so adamant that Campbell had to yield, and he made a grudging apology at the Council Meeting. However, at the next meeting of the Council, a motion was made to expunge Campbell's apology from the minutes of the previous meeting, and that motion was carried.

Campbell was later reported to have spread a rumor (related to Jensen by Bernard Davis, who heard it from Campbell's own lips) that Jensen was "giving talks to racist groups in the Deep South." Davis called Jensen from Harvard to ask if there was any truth to the statement. The fact was that at that time Jensen had never set foot south of Washington, D.C. (since then he has been to Miami, Florida, to give an invited address at the Florida School Psychologists Association and to Decatur, Georgia, to give a lecture to school officials on test bias at a symposium sponsored by the C.F. Kettering Foundation). Not only had Jensen never visited the South, he had never addressed any extremist groups. He had never spoken to *any* group other than university audiences and recognized scientific and professional associations. This shows how careless Campbell allowed himself to be with the facts in his eagerness to put down Jensen.

Demonstrations in England

Suppression of ideas was to occur elsewhere. In each case, the

Left's intentions were not only to embarrass Jensen, but to alert others to the treatment that would be accorded to them if they insisted on expressing views similar to his.

So accustomed to Leftist demonstrations did Jensen become that the London *Daily Mail* (Sept. 20, 1974) reported that when he presented a paper at the two day symposium "Racial Variation in Man" organized by the Institute of Biology at the Royal Geographical Society, he asked whimsically: "Where is the demonstration?" He was not to be disappointed. One of the other participants, the activist Steven Rose of the British "Open University" (a "progressive" degree-granting correspondence and radio/TV program set up under the patronage of a socialist government) – the same Stephen Rose whom Volkmar Weiss has accused of writing to a professor in East Germany to ask whether the Marxist government of that country could not prevent Weiss from publishing his findings concerning heritability – had a wife who did not seem to believe that participants in a scholarly meeting should be free to speak their minds openly. Alleging that Professor Jensen should be banned from speaking on any scientific platform, Mrs. Hillary Rose headed a band of some twenty demonstrators intent on preventing him from being heard. "If these sorts of people want to expound their views they should get up on a political platform. I'm sure the National Front [an anti-immigration organization] would welcome them," Mrs. Rose told reporters.

Even before the conference, Stephen Rose had prepared a paper for distribution which described Jensen's writings as "social contempt theories," and *The Times* (Sept. 19, 1974) reported that he dismissed Jensen's views with the charge that Jensen confused "a statistical phenomenon with biological reality," and that Jensen cited "apparent biological laws to justify social reality." Reading the accounts, one gains the impression that, so far as Rose was concerned, reality could only be explained by ideological theory, and any attempt to explain it by statistical evidence or "apparent biological laws" was to be rejected if these did not match his own ideology.

As usual, the purpose of the London demonstration seemed to be to warn others in the academic world that they must be prepared to face embarrassment and negative media publicity if they sought to report research findings ("social contempt theories" as Steven Rose called them) which ran counter to the more extreme forms of egalitarian ideology. Whether behavioral genetic

research is politically offensive or not depends upon the politics of the critic and whether the critic is more interested in "politically correct" views or in studying objective data. But one thing is certain: the question as to whether information about the heritability of intelligence is accurate or not is not educationally irrelevant.

It is therefore interesting to note that when approached by journalists, Dr. Barbara Tizard, a faculty member of the University of London, "denounced Prof. Jensen's theories as 'politically offensive and *educationally irrelevant*'" – a statement that says much about her acumen as an academic. This charge was akin to the Marxist policy of applying Mannheim's concept of "the sociology of knowledge," since she told *The Times* (Sept. 19, 1974) that "almost all the studies which have attempted to assess the relative importance of environmental or genetic factors in intellectual development are open to alternative explanations, and the emphasis one gives to different studies and the conclusions which one draws from them *are more a reflection of one's own views about society than of some inexorable truth. The issue is not, indeed, inexorable truth.*" Fine sounding words which not only reflect Mannheim's Marxist arguments but also exemplify Professor Eysenck's remarks about critics who profess a profound and scholarly dedication to extreme caution when they are unable to produce cogent evidence against a theory they seek to discredit.

One also notes that neither the *Daily Mail* nor *The Times* cared in their reports to cite any scholar who supported Jensen's views. Thus they leave the impression that Jensen was a lone crank whose research and conclusions were unacceptable to the scientific community at large.

Jensen and Eysenck's Australian Tour

Radical socialist groups appear to collaborate internationally in their efforts to deny freedom of speech on matters of heredity and race. One of the most dramatic examples of such world-spanning activism was the 1977 Australian tour by Jensen of Berkeley and Hans Eysenck, the world's most frequently cited psychologist, of the prestigious University of London Institute of Psychiatry.

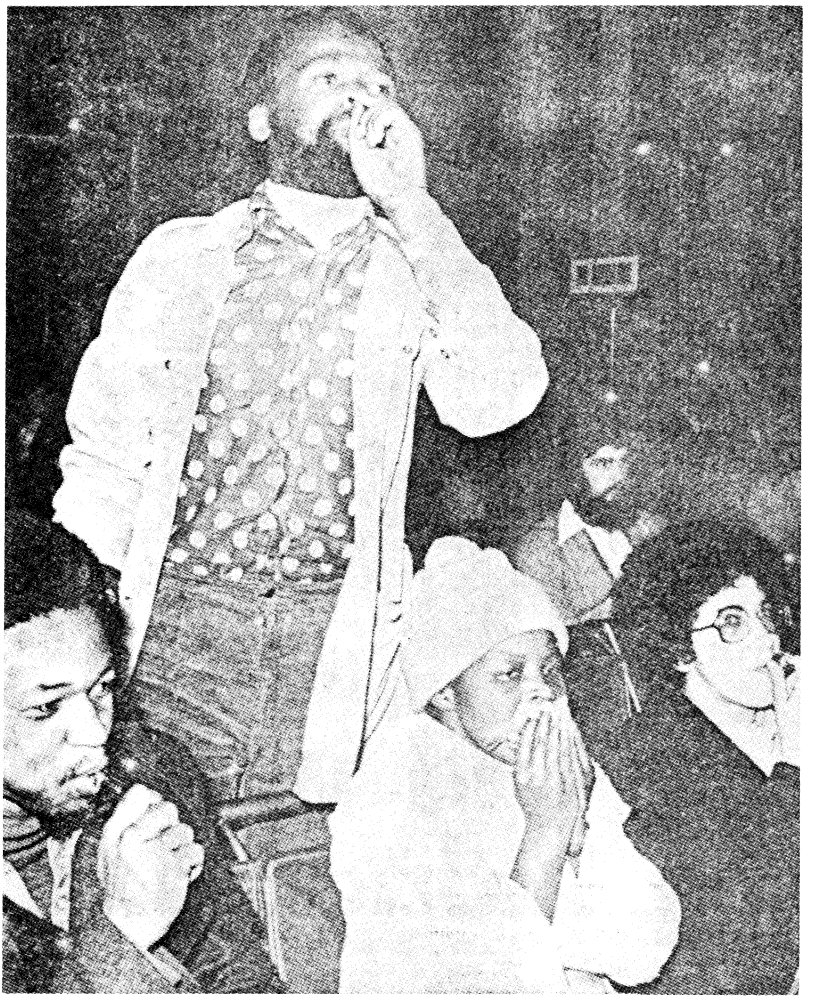
Although the lecture tour had been organized by faculty members of leading Australian universities, and the two guest speakers, from the U.S. and U.K. respectively, were to speak not on race but on IQ, personality and learning, members of the International Socialist Group and the Socialist Youth Alliance

organized massive demonstrations intending to prevent the two professors from speaking at Melbourne University, or failing that, to prevent their listeners from hearing them. Recruiting a number of activists to assist them, the demonstrators sought to block access to the lecture halls by massing dissident crowds to intimidate both speakers and audience, and to drown the words of the speakers by banging garbage cans and blowing whistles. The demonstrators carried signs bearing such legends as "Down with Racist Pseudo-Scientific Claptrap," "Eysenck and Jensen living proof of the fallacy of white supremacy" and "Social Injustice Caused by Capitalism, Not Genes." These neatly summarized the core root of neo-Lysenkoist Marxist opposition to scientific inquiry into the role of genetics in shaping the behavioral potential of the human animal.

Naturally, placards alone would not prevent a lecture, and so noise was necessary. This was achieved with the aid of metal bins, whistles, foot-stamping, shouting, and of course the chanting of neat little slogans such as "What do we want? Jensen! How do we want him? Dead!" ("Protest Stops race professor's lecture," *The Age*, Sept. 15, 1977) Similar demonstrations occurred when Eysenck spoke the next evening, except this refugee from National Socialist Germany was greeted with cries of "Sieg Heil" and raised arm salutes, as well as by demonstrators who walked between the rows of seats yelling "Racist, racist ... Go Home Racist, you B..... !" (*The Sun*, Sept. 16, 1977). But certainly it was a slogan which would play upon the emotions of young people who were more concerned with stimulating an orgy of emotional resentment than engaging in the quiet ratiocination necessary even to begin to follow Jensen's argumentation. The object was clearly to prevent any discussion at all on the subject of behavior genetics.

After attempting to speak against this noise, and under constant threat of personal violence from those who had gained entrance to the hall, Jensen was eventually moved to a basement room, from which it was possible to relay his speech by television to the lecture hall. Enraged by this ploy, the demonstrators surged down the steps to the basement, broke through the police ranks, and forced an entry to the recording room, thereby halting the lecture completely. They retained control of the scene of conflict until police reinforcements arrived to evict them. Similar tactics prevented Eysenck from being heard the following night.

The Leftist organizations were successful in their tactics to the extent of coercing the authorities at Monash University to cancel



Demonstrators blow whistles to drown Jensen's lecture at Melbourne University

the scheduled lectures, and at Melbourne University, Jensen's lecture could only be delivered to the listening audience of 1200 with the aid of a closed-circuit TV. Even with the aid of this rather impersonal device, the audience was only able to hear parts of Jensen's lecture as a result of the noise created by some 200 hecklers inside the lecture hall and 300 outside. Hundreds of copies of the lecture were circulated, however, and the text of the lecture was published in several scholarly Australian journals.

By contrast, *Direct Action* ("Racists Speak Out at Melbourne University," Sept. 22, 1977), an Australian radical publication, reported the disturbances with approval: "Two well-known peddlers of racist theories came to Melbourne University last week," Stephen Robson wrote; "about 150 demonstrators mobilized to protest each (of two) lectures." The demonstrators, he reported, belonged to the Socialist Youth Alliance.

Contrary to the Marxist theory that Jensen and Eysenck were mere tools of the "capitalist establishment," no adequate preparations were made by "the establishment" to organize sufficient law enforcement officers to protect the professors' civil rights or those of the faculty and students of Melbourne University who wished to hear what they had to say.

As Dr. S. Murray-Smith of the Department of Education at the University of Melbourne noted, "Many of the disruptors, incidentally, had nothing to do with the University of Melbourne and were imported for the occasion."

Possibly the major achievement by the demonstrators was to ensure that Australian scholars would hesitate to expound any theories which might link intelligence and personality to heredity, for fear of suffering similar harassment, which in contemporary university circles could readily spell disaster to the career prospects of any but the most senior and established faculty members. And to make sure that none of the publicity which inevitably followed the demonstrations would 'mislead' the Australian public into accepting Eysenck and Jensen's views, however widely these have since been established in academic circles, left-leaning faculty members put together lectures attempting to controvert the hereditarian view.

Thus Steven Rose again was brought into the picture, being invited to present a four-part series of radio lectures intended by himself and the media to dispel any doubts as to the biological and genetic equality of individuals and races. (*Farrago*, "Counter to

Eysenck and Jensen," Sept. 12, 1977) At the same time a Marxist organization calling itself the International Socialist Group organized a massive call-in on radio programs in an attempt to monopolize any discussion time on the air and to prevent non-Marxists from having a chance to express their opinions. Other activists wrote letters to the editors of newspapers supporting the suppression of free speech on race for "so long as Aborigines and similarly treated groups are denied entry into the highly selective, mystified and reified [sic] world of academe." Presumably the authors of such communications sought the establishment of some kind of "peoples' universities" at which admission would be less selective and thought would be less "reified." *The Melbourne Herald* ("Yobbos' Night Out," Sept. 15, 1977) nevertheless indicated the true nature of the problem:

> The yobbos who drove Professor Arthur Jensen, of the University of California, from a platform at Melbourne University last night are outside this civilization.
>
> They are equipped with an idiotic fanaticism. Theirs is a world of slogans and primitive emotion. Their display last night disgraced them – particularly the minority of academics, the trendies, who are witless enough to encourage them.

Opposition had been organized even before the lecture tour started. As news of the forthcoming lecture tour spread in Australia, Eleanor A. Koumalatsos, Aboriginal Liaison officer for the University of Melbourne, made it clear that she was not interested in scholarly research or debate, but only in politics and social activism. She formally complained to the Dean of the Faculty of Education that "I wish to protest at the University sponsoring the Jensen-Eysenck lectures next month. These lectures are racist because they claim white supremacy and black inferiority ... I believe the University should not sponsor the lectures because they are negative and not conducive to good race relations." (Letter dated Aug. 5, 1977) Even though Jensen and Eysenck's lectures were on educational psychology and were not concerned with their opinions on racial differences in intelligence and personality, such objections summarize the ultimate issue "in a nutshell." There must be no search for the truth if the truth might be "harmful" to preconceived concepts of the ideal society – and those who insist on searching for the truth in sensitive areas must be excluded from

any and all prestigious academic activities, particularly from addressing university audiences. It is interesting to note that Koumalatsos was not unskilled politically. She took the opportunity of requesting that the lecture hall in which Eysenck and Jensen were to speak should henceforth be made available annually for a seminar on the work of the National Aboriginal Education Committee!

The two professors were scheduled to lecture at eight universities in Australia. After the mammoth demonstrations at Melbourne, three universities canceled their appearance (Monash, McQarrie, University of Western Australia). The University of Sydney canceled Jensen's public lecture, but arranged a lecture to a smaller, invited audience in the Psychology Department. Then there was a demonstration at Adelaide University, but Jensen was able to give his lecture to a packed auditorium. This was videotaped and played a number of times on local TV in Adelaide. He also gave an invited address at a meeting of the Australian Psychological Association in Sydney, which was provided with adequate security with screened attendance, and so was free of incident.

Similar lectures presented at Sydney University were also met by organized Leftist demonstrators, who again used whistles, chanted anti-racist slogans, and threw at least one smoke bomb and water bombs. Pleased with the success of the rioters, *Direct Action* (*Ibid*, Sept. 22, 1977) commented that "it is through taking these backward ideas head-on and mobilizing militant demonstrations against the racism, that the racist forces in this country will be isolated." Once again the key word which stresses the radical Leftist goal is "isolated." Serious debate is to be suppressed by fear, by inculcating fear among all but the most courageous academic figures, so that ideas which threaten Marxist theory cannot take intellectual root. Again, as *Direct Action* journalist Stephen Robson commented, the aim was to "expose these racists," not to "get sidetracked into a debate over freedom of speech."

Canceling the lectures due to be given by the two professors, the Chancellor of Monash University claimed that:

> The University has sought anxiously to find ways in which Professor Jensen could be enabled to give his lecture free of interruption. It has become apparent, however, that there is no way in which we can guarantee that Professor Jensen could be

heard. (*Sound,* "Jensen Lecture Canceled," No. 29/77, Sept. 23, 1977)

The activists had won. Without further effort on the activist's part, the Chancellor decided that the professors would not be given the chance to be heard. Columnist Joanne Thompson was pleased: "those who oppose Jensen and Eysenck's visit are not enemies of academic freedom (though she does not explain why they are not), but people who recognize that what Eysenck and Jensen are contributing to, is not scientific knowledge, but racist and anti-working class movements and attitudes. Eysenck and Jensen are not welcome in Australia."

Attempts to pretend that intelligence and personality are purely environmentally determined were also published in student and Leftist papers, causing Jensen to write to the University of Melbourne student newspaper ("Fantasy and Reality About IQ") as follows:

> *Farrago*'s two articles (Sept. 9, 1977, p. 4 and p. 11) about the so-called IQ controversy throw up a smoke-screen of misinformation and highlight once again the fantasies that opponents of research on this topic seem to hope will pass for legitimate criticism. I have seen all of these same fantasies expressed in many other student newspapers, political leaflets, and the popular media, in so much the same form and phraseology as to almost suggest they were all written by the same person, or a small group of persons, without their showing any evidence of independent inquiry. It is a parroting of propaganda slogans rather than genuine open-minded inquiry into the actual issues. The most popular fantasy is that the polygenic theory of intelligence (and the evidence for it) is a minority viewpoint held just by Jensen and Eysenck and perhaps a few others. As a matter of fact, no modern textbook of human genetics that deals at all with the inheritance of mental ability (as indexed by IQ tests) comes to a conclusion on this matter that differs in any essential way from the conclusions espoused by Eysenck and me .... No one who has actually done research in this field has come to a contrary conclusion (regarding the substantial role of heredity in determining intelligence).
>
> The second popular fantasy is that the cause of racial differences in IQ (and all its correlates) is a scientifically closed issue and that the hypothesis that genetic factors are involved has already been ruled out by proper studies. On the contrary, the vast

majority of geneticists today agree that this is an open question and that the hypothesis of genetic, as well as environmental, causation is a viable one warranting continued investigation. The United States National Academy of Sciences and the American Genetics Society have both issued official statements endorsed by the majority of their membership to the effect that there is presently no scientifically definitive answer to this question. This differs in no way from my own position. My own research has been directed, in part, to trying to reduce our uncertainty regarding the nature and causes of IQ differences between certain racial groups in the U.S.

The third popular fantasy is that the IQ measures nothing but the ability to perform on such tests, that it is merely an arbitrary socially defined construct, that the tests are culturally biased, and so on. This criticism overlooks the fact that IQ tests have the same predictive validity for scholastic and occupational performance for blacks as for whites (in the U.S.), and that the IQ is correlated with such non-cultural factors as brain size and the electrical activity of the brain. It can be demonstrated that certain tests are not culturally biased with respect to certain population groups within the U.S. which nevertheless show large differences in average test scores.

A fourth fantasy is that the discovery of a few numerical irregularities in the publications of the late Sir Cyril Burt now discredits his theory of the inheritance of intelligence. (I have reviewed Burt's data in detail in *Behavior Genetics*, 1974). Since all of Burt's main findings have been replicated many times by independent investigations, the results of his own studies are only a small part of the total evidence for his theories. All of Burt's data could be thrown out entirely without materially changing the picture. Dozens of subsequent studies have yielded essentially the same results as Burt's. So anything now said about Burt is really only of historical and biographical interest and not relevant to the scientific issues. All that our critics need to do, if they are to act in the scientific tradition and if they are to be taken seriously, is to carry out better studies of the genetics of intelligence than have yet been done and show data and analyses which will contradict the generally accepted conclusions based on the now existing mass of evidence.

It is of interest that since Jensen wrote the above, the reputation of Sir Cyril Burt, which had been shredded by his enemies after

his death, aided and abetted to a monstrous degree by the British Broadcasting Corporation, has been completely vindicated by several writers. Not least among these is Dr. Robert B. Joynson, whose book *The Burt Affair* (Routledge, Chapman and Hall, 1990) completely exonerates Burt from the fraudulent accusations made against him by Leftist professors to serve the purposes of the political Left.

More Threats and Demonstrations in America

Back in America, Jensen faced two major demonstrations at Kent State University in 1982, although these were well-contained by the police, who kept the demonstrators outside the halls in which his lectures were being given. However, the demonstrations resulted in a great deal of undesirable press coverage and letters to the editor for many days following his presence on that campus, and must have embarrassed his hosts, who nevertheless were apologetic and courteous to the end.

Again, as late as 1985, demonstrators prevented Jensen from lecturing at the University of Western Ontario (where Guggenheim Scholar Professor J. Philippe Rushton was to experience so much trouble, as we shall describe later). There, a Marxist group organized the demonstration. A smaller lecture to an invited audience the same day was successful, however, since demonstrators could not enter and were kept at a distance by the police. Their chanting could be heard in the background throughout. Interestingly, the leaflets distributed by this group were the same as those passed out a few days later by demonstrators at the University of Toronto, where good police security enabled Jensen to lecture to an appreciative audience without difficulty.

At Berkeley, life was made very difficult for the Jensen family for many years. They routinely received hate phone calls, often in the night, especially after he made a TV appearance or the newspapers highlighted another demonstration. At one time these became so vicious that the Jensens had to have all phone calls routed through the local police station. The police advised the Jensen family to move out of their home, and they had to stay with friends who lived some few miles away. Some threats also made reference to their daughter, then aged only 11, and the police took the calls sufficiently seriously to advise the Jensen's not to let her walk the two blocks to the school bus for almost a year.

Although it was kept confidential, the U.C. Berkeley security

police provided Professor Jensen with a "body alarm" which would enable him to call the police station immediately should he be attacked. They received a copy of his "itinerary" every day, and kept track of his movements for his own safety. Because of the midnight phone calls and frequent threats of physical violence, made not only to Jensen but to members of his family, the police insisted that the campus's two-man "bomb squad" open all mail addressed to Jensen which could not be identified. The pressure on this academic and his brave family was immense. Indeed, as he wrote to Dr. Strassburger of the APA, in response to a letter of concern for the harassment:

> My greater concern is that I know that other faculty members are adversely influenced by these events and have often kept silent out of fear. They have told me so. Naturally, I am not going to divulge their identity. They are personal friends. But I hate to see them frightened, as I know some of them are. It compromises their intellectual position on controversial issues.
>
> But who could blame other faculty or other researchers for avoiding the issues I have raised or for wanting to avoid the appearance of being identified with me in any way that might lead to their also being harassed etc., as I have been. It is an unfair price and hinders free and open discussion. But I think the atmosphere will change and become more sane ... Noisy demonstrations by the SDS etc. have been replaced by "anti-Jensen," "anti-Herrnstein," leaflets, posters etc. calling us "Nazis" and the like ... the SDS gave up this tactic when I began reading their leaflets to my students. Such patent and ridiculous lies provoked gales of laughter among my students. I am not bothered by this scurrilous and defamatory "literature" but, again, *I fear there are those who might be intimidated by it if they should become the subject of such attacks, and this is a form of suppression* [our italics].

Jensen added an interesting postscript:

> There are persons not connected with APA who have fared badly on occasion, too. Last year Michael Lerner, a Professor of Genetics at Berkeley, was physically attacked, though apparently not seriously, for giving a lecture in which he intended to be critical of my writings. The person who came up from the audience to punch him in the midriff and hit him on the head apparently thought my views should not have been dignified by

Come to a SESPA* forum TONIGHT!!
Two science graduate students will discuss Jensenism and racist Professors.
We will bring up discussion of what we are doing in Prof. Jensen's class.

Tonight (Feb. 15) Everyone Welcome! 7:30 p.m. 122 Wheeler

SDS

*Scientists & engineers for social & political action

A propaganda handout, issued by an SDS subsidiary which styled itself "Scientists and Engineers for Social and Political Action," seeks students to assist in the disruption of Professor Jensen's classes at Berkeley.

their being seriously discussed, even in a critical vein, by a professor of genetics! As professor Lerner, one of my critics, later remarked, "you just can't win."

Siding with Marxist critics holding paid positions in academe, Marxist activists published political literature aimed at student readership that coined the term "sociobigotry" to refer to Edward O. Wilson's *Sociobiology: The New Synthesis* (Harvard U.P., 1975), which was generally well received in the academic world even among those who have chosen to favor predominantly environmentalist interpretations of human behavior. The purpose of such pejorative invention was to stir up student activists to harass professors who might make favorable reference to Wilson's work in their lectures, and so to gag faculty and effectively prevent students from being introduced to Wilson's thought-provoking contribution to academic debate. Similarly non-scientific language was devised to describe the work of other scholars. Thus one Marxist pamphlet alleged that "despite the fact that Burt belongs to the sewer of scientific history, his prize pupil Jensen has once again slithered out of the closet." It refers to Jensen's "racist ravings," "racist filth," and to Jensen "exposing himself as a crook with a yen to grind axes for the KKK." Interestingly, while Mark Snyderman and Stanley Rothman in *The I.Q. Controversy: The Media and Public Policy* (Transaction Books, 1988), find the media generally antithetical to "hereditarian" scholarship, the Maoists tried to assert, in a last ditch attempt to defend their philosophy, that the public media, being capitalist, actually supported Jensen, commenting that when "the Rockefeller-dominated mass media refer[s] to his drivel as a 'rigorous response' to his detractors (*Newsweek*, February 14), then the class logic behind the whole seamy business becomes a lot clearer."

Actually, as has already been pointed out, the Rockefeller Foundation has been one of the foremost financiers of minority causes and of programs designed to assist the minorities in America, while the popular media in general has been markedly unsympathetic to Jensen.

Assorted Tribulations

Another instance in which a "chilling effect" proved formidable came through an organization with ties to APA. This was the Leftist Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, which asked

supporters to lobby newspapers and other potential pockets of influence so that a larger anti-Jensen drive might accelerate.

The Marxist International Committee Against Racism, insisting that "black and other oppressed people" were the targets of eugenics, distributed mass mailings from its Connecticut base. Its plan was to submit petitions and have university-based activist committees pass resolutions so that the public would believe there was a broad base of opposition to "racist research." Its members were dismayed when 45 prominent scientists signed a Resolution on Scientific Freedom Regarding Human Behavior and Heredity. Published in the July 1972 issue of *American Psychologist* this resolution applauded legitimate inquiry into the "role of inheritance in human abilities."

There were other expressions of support from genuine free speech advocates, libertarians, and scientists. "We are all a little ashamed of the treatment you have received," noted Professor Stanley at the City University of New York. In a letter to Jensen, he continued that "... however, the vast majority of psychologists stand fully behind you in your attempt to explore the meaning of intelligence test scores..."

In addition, other intellectually honest academics were unafraid to stand up. Professor Sandra Scarr, as editor of *Developmental Psychology*, was among those able to see through the organized effort to silence all discussion of the IQ quandary. When the APA circulated Hirsch's paper entitled "To Unfrock The Charlatans" – an attack on Shockley, Jensen, Herrnstein and others – Scarr was incensed. "Hirsch's concerns about social justice for women and minorities could be applauded if he did not need victims ... there is no need to compromise with the facts of individual variability..." And, she intrepidly added, "I am not part of some imaginary conspiracy to restrict others' opportunities" (Letter to Earl Alliusi, chairman of APA Publications and Communications Board, Sept. 7, 1972).

Hirsch persevered, however, and in 1975 informed readers that "Jensen's avowed goals are as heinously barbaric as those of Hitler and the anti-abolitionists." (*Educational Theory*, Winter 1975) In some Left-controlled university student papers, the slanders were equally preposterous. Thus Grover Furr – an assistant professor of English (not psychology or genetics) and a member of InCAR – wrote in the *Mont Clarion* (March 3, 1977) that "Scientific criticism and refutation alone are not sufficient ... the hard fact is that it is

only due to the militant opposition of students and some faculty opposing Jensen and his fellow racists Shockley and Herrnstein and the teaching of their fraudulent and racist ideas that the spread of this filth in academe and (to a more limited extent) in the mass media has been somewhat cut back."

The occasion for this article had been Jensen's election as a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science – an event that attested to his prominence and broad acceptance within his field. Nevertheless the article claimed that Jensen had been elected "in the face of almost universal rejection of his theories by professional psychologists and geneticists." True, his election was vociferously denounced by a few Leftists, when one black AAAS member attempted to block it and "stormed out of the conference and announced that he was resigning from the association when he failed to win support," and Margaret Mead – the Leftist disciple of Franz Boas and bitter opponent of "racism," whose ethnographic study *Coming of Age in Samoa* has since been demonstrated to be grossly inaccurate to the point of absurdity – was particularly angry, but swore to remain in the AAAS to continue the "fight from within." (*New York Times*, Feb. 25, 1977)

Leftist opposition dogged Jensen consistently through these decades. In 1984, a tentative plan to have him appear as keynote speaker before the National Association of School Psychologists convention was scrapped out of fear of disruption. "Substantial controversy was provoked by my announcement that you would be one of our... speakers," observed the president of that Association when forced to withdraw his invitation to Jensen.

The potential difficulties which confront scientists who engage in research that may affect the self-perception of individuals or groups of individuals is readily comprehensible. Indeed, mankind can only hope to advance scientific knowledge to the limits permitted by personal bias and by prevailing economic and political forces. Further advances in knowledge concerning the heritability of IQ are dependent upon the prevalence of an adequately numerous and influential body of intelligent men and women with foresight who realize that the future of humankind depends on advancing the boundaries of knowledge beyond the limits of bias, personal interest and prejudice. Such a body needs to be able to retain sufficient influence to ensure that the frontiers of scientific research and debate are not restricted by the pique and self-interest of the bigoted "anti-racists."

Media Insults

In a democratic society power can unfortunately accrue to those who are able to manipulate the emotions of the less informed and less intelligent, and who at the same time are sufficiently numerous to be able to sway the political and judicial machinery and gag scholars who bring unpleasant tidings. It is not surprising in that context that many members of the media consciously or unconsciously choose to advance themselves by spreading alarmist and imaginative reports concerning scientists who investigate the role of heredity in relation to human behavioral potential. In the Chicago *Bilalian News Weekly*, ("Racist Attempts to Revive IQ Myth," February 29, 1980), well-known black columnist Carl Rowan applied his literary ability with powerful effect when he advocated that scholars such as Jensen be silenced. Thus, he wrote:

> [After World War II] ... when naked racism lost its popularity, it became the fashion to put a facade of scholarship on assertions of Bilalian inferiority ... The thesis that blacks (are) innately inferior got its biggest "scholarly" [the quotation marks are those of Rowan] push several years ago when the *Harvard Educational Review* published a long, dull article by Arthur R. Jensen, a professor at the University of California, Berkeley.

Whether Rowan truly finds academic writing dull is neither here nor there. But hunting superficially through Jensen's work in search of incendiary remarks, Rowan continued: "Jensen reported that the average black American scored 15 points lower on IQ tests than whites, and that ... the 15 point IQ gap must arise from the fact that black people draw their genes from a pool that is inferior."

Such reporting, appearing in a weekly paper published explicitly for black readers who in general did not read the *Harvard Educational Review*, could be expected to enhance Rowan's popularity as a columnist. But one questions whether Rowan in his own mind truly found fault with Jensen's conclusions. He is himself a highly intelligent man, but one who has been accused of hypocrisy, since although he has written strongly in favor of gun control, he was a few years back embarrassed by newspaper reports that he fired at and wounded a youth who trespassed in his swimming pool – using a gun that was not registered in his name. He was reported not to have denied these charges, but merely to have claimed that he had fired because he thought the youth was

about to attack him – a reaction with which many of the opponents of gun control whom he had previously criticized would surely have sympathized.

We may especially question whether Rowan is intellectually sincere when he continues: "Jensen's paper caused an uproar as other researchers and social scientists pounced upon him, accusing him of flawed research." Did Rowan, as a skilled, sophisticated and prominent columnist, not know that the reaction against Jensen's scholarly paper was spearheaded by radical Left-wing faculty members, and that the only "uproar" was created by journalists such as himself in the media?

There was no mention of this in his article. Instead, wrongly alleging that after coming under criticism "Jensen seemed to fade away," Rowan went on to declare:

> But Jensen is back! ... this time to push his 786 page book in which he defends IQ testing against charges that such tests are culturally biased ... I have this observation to make about the return of Arthur Jensen: Common sense tells us much more than his alleged scholarship.

While discarding Jensen's entire library of scholarship without any attempt to dispute Jensen's data, Rowan provided his reader with a sparse 120 word argument to justify his claim that "we have reason to doubt his [Jensen's] intelligence." He based his peremptory dismissal of Jensen's 786 page book, and all the research, statistics, books and articles Jensen had assembled on the subject, on the single argument that "the average black woman is much more likely to be malnourished during the time she is carrying a baby than the average white woman."

Even this solitary argument is difficult to support. It ignored the many instances around the world where malnourished and environmentally deprived peoples have scored more highly on intelligence tests than well-nourished peoples. American Indians, who are rated as being more environmentally deprived than blacks by sociologists, score higher on IQ tests than blacks. How did a defeated nation like Germany, which suffered years of malnutrition in the wake of the widespread destruction of its cities during World War II, produce a generation of creative, productive children who rebuilt their country's economy if Rowan's implied belief in the control of environment over IQ is valid?

What is more, Rowan neglected to mention the claim made by certain black journals, when selling advertising space, to the effect that working black women in America have *higher* incomes, on the average, than working white women – a statistic which if true would indicate that this major segment of black womanhood was not of necessity poorer-nourished than white mothers. All these relevant data are omitted from his four-column report, with the result that what appeared in print had an incendiary impact, misleading its readers into believing that not only was Jensen's data false, but that Jensen had evil intentions, antagonistic to the black people of America. We do feel that Rowan may well have been understandably sympathetic to the possible impact of Jensen's report on the self-image of members of the black community at large. These must be strong-minded to face up to the statistical data revealed by Jensen and his like-minded researchers, who themselves needed courage to publish their findings. But science *needs* the freedom to debate unpopular research without emotion. In short, Rowan did no service to science or, in the long run, to humanity. What he wrote was not a scholarly but an emotional response. Worse, it prepared his readers for incendiary statements such as that made by the self-avowed Marxist revolutionary organization, InCAR, when commenting on the views of Harvard Professor E.O. Wilson and other sociobiologists, that "no punishment is too severe for these criminals."

How wise is the media to prepare its readers, through the selective misrepresentation of facts and opinions of scholars, to sympathize not merely with demands that science be muzzled, but that scientists who expose data which is politically unpopular should be punished like criminals?

"No punishment is too severe for these criminals." This is an irresponsible and incendiary piece of neo-Lysenkoism identical to the original Lysenkoism that prevailed in the Stalinist Soviet period. Rowan's words remind us of the genocide carried out against the educated during the French revolution, when the blade of the guillotine fell every few minutes, decapitating not merely the most educated men in France, but their womenfolk and children as well.

The implications of Jensen's work for society, human ethics, and even politics, are profound. No doubt this is why he has been so strongly and persistently attacked by those who are ideologically committed to Marxism and parallel ethical philosophies. Shockley,

who became Jensen's personal friend, quickly realized the significance of what Jensen had uncovered. The less intelligent members of society were failing to reproduce as quickly as the less competent. Consequently, as early as 1969, Shockley warned that unless population growth patterns changed during the next 20 years, over a million illegitimate slum babies would be born, destined to agonizing frustration by suffering from intelligence genetically limited to below 75 IQ.

Jensen, who appreciated the implications of his conclusions, echoed these sentiments. In the past, he stated, low-IQ children in society – white and black – were not faced with the specter of massive, sudden, and dislocating technological transformations. The less intelligent had the option of passing unnoticed in the agrarian communities of earlier America. Today, this was no longer so. Those members of the community who rank at the lower end of the IQ scale face considerable difficulty in finding rewarding work in modern American society. Political activists who are not slow to utilize their discomfiture for their own purposes blame the problems of the less intelligent not on their biology, but on the more intelligent members of society and on the very structure of a free enterprise economy.

From his position as a psychologist at the prestigious research-oriented Human Learning Institute at the UC Berkeley campus, Jensen continued to seek to encourage others to examine the role of heredity as it affects the problem of poverty in modern America. Too many social scientists still try to understand Americas's problems in neo-Lysenkoist terms of environment alone. Heredity, Jensen warns, largely determines the potential of individuals, while environment primarily acts upon the potential of the biological organism as determined by heredity. Unfortunately, because his research brought to light data which undermined the political ideology of the Far Left, it was his fate to become the target of Leftist activists both outside and inside the rarified world of academe. Compassionate to the "have nots," and not understanding the scientific question clearly, the media misunderstood the nature of its moral responsibility to truth and to society, and too seldom chose to report the resultant controversy fairly.

Yet during the past two decades, ongoing research has confirmed the accuracy of Jensen's analysis. As Snyderman and Rothman have shown in *The IQ Controversy* (Transaction Books, 1988), *94%* of a sample of 661 psychologists who responded to a

survey sent to them agreed that heredity plays a significant role in determining intelligence, while a majority of the scholars consulted agreed broadly with Jensen's conclusion that the role of heredity in determining intelligence was indeed predominant.

5 / WILLIAM SHOCKLEY

We have already seen the extent of Leftist opposition to eugenic thought; the same Marxist activists who were responsible for subverting popular and even academic thinking on this issue were to launch an attack on William Shockley, the distinguished mathematician, statistician and physicist, co-inventor of the transistor and Nobel Prize-winner, which was to reduce his popular image from that of a national hero to something between a crackpot and a bigot. William Shockley may justly be described in the words of Arthur Jensen as "a true genius." His crime was that in his altruistic concern for the future of humanity he came to the conclusion that the threat of genetic deterioration was so real in the modern world that further research by qualified scientists into the problem of what he called "dysgenics" (a deterioration of the inter-generational genetic heritage) was of far more importance to the world than the invention of the transistor. His logic was simple. Without intelligence there could be no transistors or equivalent human creations.

After achieving fame in his own discipline, Shockley turned his attention to the future of mankind. As that great eighteenth century British man of letters, Dr. Johnson, once said, if a man has the ability, he can walk up one hill just as well as another. Like Alexander Graham Bell before him, Shockley recognized the importance of preserving the gift of intelligence for future generations, and henceforth devoted himself to popularizing the need for scientific research into heredity and intelligence, and to alerting the public to the dysgenic trends which threatened posterity by suggesting dramatic methods by which the intelligence of a nation could be perpetuated into the future.

Unfortunately, when Shockley began his crusade in the 1960s the Lysenkoists were at the height of their influence, and the academic and political world was reeling under the blows of Marxist-inspired campus riots, with many faculty members sympathetic to the Marxist cause. Shockley began his campaign by calling for a government financed study of the heritability of IQ and of current intergenerational trends in IQ among the component stocks of American society, but his views were immediately

misrepresented and presented in the guise of racism. Even today, the discussion of these issues remains largely distorted and is still generally suppressed due to political and cultural attitudes quite unrelated to science.

Professor Shockley's efforts to awaken public opinion to the significance of genetic factors in determining the level of intelligence in future generations resulted in a determined assault on him by Marxist scholars and activists, so vicious that even after his death one bitter opponent, Frederick Seitz, could not restrain himself from suggesting that the Nobel Prize-winner's views on dysgenics must have been due to a head injury incurred sometime after his achievements in electronics. (*Science*, January 1990) In its drive, extent, and style, anti-Shockley propaganda parallelled the character assassinations directed by the political Far Left.

The continuous campaign of denigration aimed at Shockley avoided any balanced analysis or critique of the *actual* statements or statistical evidence. As a world-renowned scientist who had made other major contributions to the well-being of mankind, Shockley's espousal of the need for eugenic measures caused considerable trouble to those who attempted to complain, in an age when progress in genetic science was advancing at an explosive rate, that eugenic measures not only lacked a moral basis, but reflected hierarchical and élitist concepts of society. To Marxists, those who emphasized the role of genetics in determining human behavior were providing food for "fascism." Worse still, Shockley's observation that intellectual and personality differences separate the diverse races of mankind – and that these differences might well have evolutionary significance – was regarded as supporting a pro-racialist stance.

Yet so logically and so clearly did Shockley present his arguments, that the only way his critics could block him in the eyes of the public was to point out that his background was in mathematics and physics, not in the social sciences. They charged him with ignorance of the traditional teachings of anthropology and psychology, and alleged that the years he devoted to studying the relationship between intelligence, heredity and race were driven by bias, and that he was blinded by personal prejudice.

Let us therefore take a brief look at the life history of this famous scientist, his opinions and achievements, and the violent reaction, often amounting to physical disruption of his lectures, from those who made it a political rather than an academic activity

to challenge the man who was bold enough to turn his interest away from the "micro" realm of transistors, with their intricate latticework of man-directed energy, to study the "macro" world of public policy issues. His thesis, which scared the political Left, was simple: Intelligence was a highly variable quality of prime importance to humankind in its struggle to survive, and even to the ability of the individual to be self-supporting; but statistical evidence indicated that intelligence, among other qualities, was largely determined by heredity.

From Physicist to Eugenicist

The man who launched one of the world's most well-publicized campaigns against "dysgenics," which he described as "the mechanization of self-destruction for civilizations," studied the data collated and analyzed by Jensen and others who had become interested in the prospect of "retrogressive evolution" and the overwhelming social problems that would result if it were allowed to proceed unchecked.

Born in 1910, William Shockley was the descendant of a New England whaling family, derived from early English settlers of the Americas. During World War II, his abilities as a scientist were already so developed, as a researcher at the Bell Laboratories, that he was chosen to direct the U.S. Navy's research into techniques of anti-submarine warfare. Returning to Bell Laboratories as director of solid-state physics research in 1945, he was part of the three-man team which in 1948 perfected the first transistor. He and his co-workers were awarded a Nobel Prize for their achievement some eight years later. As someone whose contributions to science – and especially to the then-infant field of electronics – were early recognized, Shockley was accustomed to challenging standard beliefs, and in the tradition of the competent scientist he was able to grasp quickly the scope of any profound shifts of thought made necessary by scientific discoveries.

Following the development of the transistor, Shockley left Bell Laboratories in New Jersey to become president of his own semiconductor firm. He became the proprietor of many fundamental patents still widely used in electronics, and to a degree it was Shockley, whose Shockley Semiconductor Laboratories within two years topped $500 million turnover, who pioneered the California-based complex of transistor companies popularly referred to as "Silicon Valley." But Shockley's personal interests did

not lie in the business world, and he soon chose to return to pure research and to teaching a rising generation the disciplined techniques of scientific enquiry. He sold his commercial interests and accepted the post of Poniatovsky Professor of Electrical Engineering at nearby Stanford University in 1963.

Shockley's odyssey into heredity, eugenics and dysgenics began with his reflections on a 1963 news item concerning a criminal who had been hired to throw acid into the face of another San Francisco resident (WAS Personal papers; also *The Detroit News*, Sept. 15, 1974, "How and Why He Developed That Controversial Theory"). The perpetrator of this heinous crime had an extremely low IQ, and was one of 17 illegitimate children born to a woman whose own IQ was only 55!

Low-intelligence populations, Shockley perceived, could not be held morally responsible for their deeds. At the same time they tended to procreate at excessive rates, crippling the ability of society to care for them. Realizing what this meant for the future of humanity, he began to devote an increasing proportion of his time to studying intelligence, heritability and demographic trends among the different segments of the American population.

It was in 1965 that the results of Shockley's enquiries into intelligence and demography, and his efforts to attract the attention of the academic world to the significance of the negative relationship between intelligence and fertility, exploded into controversy. The flashpoint was a talk he gave at Gustavus Adolphus College in Minnesota, on the subject of heredity and its role in determining intelligence. A published *U.S. News and World Report* (November 22, 1965) interview following his talk allowed him to reach some 400,000 subscribers to what was then the third largest news weekly magazine in the U.S.

In that interview, Shockley sought to discuss dysgenics and the disastrous results if existing U.S. trends were permitted to continue unchecked over time. But the interviewer carefully drew him into a discussion of black performance in IQ tests. Shockley was never a man to hide what he believed to be the truth. He noted that the "genetic role of the dice" had repercussions for groups as well as for individuals and for posterity generally. He challenged the environmentalist theories favored by those who had succeeded in generating the billions in domestic social welfare spending programs that he believed were nurturing the high reproduction rate of America's less intelligent citizens.

Interestingly, and contrary to popular myth, Shockley was totally apolitical, quite the opposite of the "fascist" his detractors sought to portray. He is on record as having endorsed the controversial Head Start program, stating that remedial assistance provided to blacks was important, and that there was every need to remedy environmental circumstances adverse to human development. All through his life he remained politically unattached to any party. Many so-called conservatives disliked his tolerance for abortion, and he publicly battled William F. Buckley, who joined forces with liberals in the attack on Shockley's supposed "racism." In brief, Shockley was not simply apolitical, he openly despised the run-of-the-mill politicians in America – feeling that they put themselves and their ill thought-out goals and solutions ahead of real issues and were not interested in attempting any logical analysis of the causes of human suffering.

The fact that as early as 1969 Shockley had sympathetically described blacks as being born "enslaved in a slum environment" made little impact on those committed to the frenzy of Leftist social activism prevalent at that time. Environmentalism "commands the heights of the 'social sciences'," observed columnist Mike Culbert in 1970. Its supporters were "wary of the incursions by those few upsetting voices suggesting hereditary quality – genetics – is at least 80 percent of intelligence and of certain success-getting attitudes that go with it." Culbert tried to direct attention to the estimate of 80 percent heritability, whereas even if heritability were only 5%, we would still have to take heed of it. Only if it were 0% could we afford to ignore it. Naturally, therefore, Shockley who was convinced that a dysgenic threat existed and the problem of dysgenics was the prime basis of poverty in America was not going to be well-received by the Leftist social scientists in academe. They were determined to suppress his call for unbiased scholarly research aimed at furnishing the facts which might conceivably reveal that only a eugenic program could solve the problem of inner city poverty.

At the time of the 1965 magazine interview, Shockley was already preparing to move on this front, and shortly afterwards he launched a determined effort to persuade the National Academy of Sciences to sponsor an in-depth investigation of the relative roles of heredity and environment in determining intelligence – and into the extent of the dysgenic threat. Harsh, unsubstantiated press attacks grew out of this move in the late 1960s, and Shockley soon

learned to protect himself against the frequent misquotes by carrying a tape recorder at interviews. Even telephone conversations with the media were recorded, as a condition to granting any interview.

Turning away from electronic research, but eschewing party politics, Shockley believed that further technological advances would be futile if society did not pay heed to what appeared to be a serious threat to the intelligence of future generations. Shockley shared Herbert Hoover's view that "The great human advances have not been brought about by mediocre men and women." He was also concerned that Hoover may have been right when he latter added that: "There exists in this country, today, a cult of mediocrity which caters to the prejudice that no one can be much more able than another." (*Men of Space* by Shirley Thomas, 1962, p. 191) Indeed, Shockley believed, continued scientific progress into the future might become unsustainable in the face of a serious ongoing deterioration in the genetic quality of mankind. Society needed to take an interest in "the quality problem," he told the Cleveland City Club in 1975:

> Dysgenics is the name for down-breeding, for retrogressive evolution, or population pollution, caused by excessive reproduction of the genetically disadvantaged.
>
> If my fears about this threat are true, the taxpayer will suffer. But those who will suffer most are the babies, born in slum environments with statistically poor heredity from unfair shakes from the badly-loaded genetic dice cups of their parents. Few of these babies will reach the mainstream of society. The remainder will be, in effect, genetically enslaved for their lifetimes. Although I endorse welfare programs to reduce this misery, I hold that society has a moral obligation to analyze this potential genetic disaster. My faith in humanity supports my belief that establishing relevant truths will lead to truly humane courses of action. (WPS Personal Papers)

The data on which he based this view came from standard census sources which revealed the disparate birth rates of different socio-economic groups among both whites and blacks. The message was abundantly clear to Shockley – the welfare of posterity was at stake. Blacks as well as whites stood to benefit from a suitable counter-dysgenic policy. Thus, he declared:

> The fact that black Americans are educationally and socially disadvantaged, causes nobly-motivated – but wishful-thinking – intellectuals to vehemently oppose demands, like mine, for the evaluation of the role of genetics in social performance. A consequence is that the dysgenic threat to the blacks is overlooked. Census Bureau reports reveal that this threat is real: Black women college graduates average only 1.9 children, not enough to maintain their fraction of the population, whereas black rural farm women (near the bottom of the socio-economic ladder) average 5.4, nearly three times as many. (For whites, the threat is less: 2.3 and 3.5.) I have not found comparable statistics for transgenerational AFDC families but fear that they would be even more threatening, as suggested by the factor of six that I deduced from Professor Segalman's percentages. (WPS Personal Papers)

Some politicians took an interest, and former Alaska senator Ernest Gruening, a consultant to the Population Crisis Committee, in a June 1971 letter to then-senator Joseph Tydings (Dem.-Md.), wrote that "not enough emphasis was given to the quality of mankind ... Without diminishing the emphasis on the quantitative aspects, the qualitative should have increasing attention, a view I fully share."

But although Shockley saw his crusade as an issue that affected the welfare of posterity, many of his opponents saw it as an attack upon their carefully nurtured myth of egalitarianism. Hence the racial issue was a common theme in all the attacks on Shockley. "After delivering an address to the American Psychological Association in Washington, D.C.," according to *The Sacramento Union* (Nov. 23, 1971), "he was publicly accused by some delegates of 'racism' and of promoting 'fascist' ideas associated with Nazi Germany."

In his efforts to persuade the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) to undertake a major study of the dysgenic problem in the U.S., Shockley faced rising academic and media criticism. Few commentators cared to recognize the underlying issues. Referring to the close-minded attitude of the NAS bureaucracy, Congressman Charles Gubser (Rep.-Cal.) insisted he was "shocked that men who call themselves scientists are afraid to seek the truth." (*The Congressional Record*, July 15, 1971)

Misinterpretation and misrepresentation was widespread throughout the entire course of Shockley's crusade. Commenting

on a 1968 newspaper article, Shockley noted that he was quoted as stating that the "rapidly rising birthrate [of the blacks] is the cause" of the failure of blacks to be assimilated into white society. Anyone cognizant of the actual statements and tenets of his writings would realize that Shockley would never have made such a broadly generalized and imprecise comment, since he constantly stressed that American blacks were becoming divided, genetically, into two quite different camps, and that the average level of black intelligence as a statistical whole was threatened because of the high birthrate among the less intelligent blacks of the ghetto.

Academic sympathy for Shockley's position was in reality more widespread than was evident from press reports. With most of the press and numerous leaders of the liberal establishment, such as Yale University President Kingman Brewster, outspokenly taking up position in the anti-Shockley camp, few scholars who might have come to Shockley's support dared publicly admit to sharing his beliefs. Their grants, foundation support, and even acceptance by the "mainstream" media could be jeopardized should they make a principled stand. Indeed, as Shockley's personal papers reveal, many prominent scientists privately informed him of their support, but most refrained from supporting him publicly. It was difficult for people to rally to the cause of a man repeatedly described as a bigot. As was seen in previous sections, many leading newspapers echoed *The San Francisco Chronicle* when it described him as "the controversial scientist who thinks black people are born mentally inferior."(May 18, 1970)

Only in the academic journals did rays of truth permeate the smear campaign. The impact of honest research was so powerful when it came to this subject, that frequent articles in respected scientific journals vindicated Shockley. In 1975, for example, *Modern Medicine* (Feb. 1, 1975) discussed the issue in purely scientific, rational, and non-political tones.

Shockley's Campaign

Immersing himself in the problem of human suffering and disparate abilities, Shockley concluded that contemporary Western society faced dysgenic trends, in that the less intelligent people were over-replacing themselves while the more intelligent were tending to under-replace themselves. Poverty and misery in future generations and the future well-being of mankind as a whole could be better served if society would commission a detailed investiga-

tion of the entire question of heredity, intelligence and demographic trends, so as to arrive at a broadly acceptable consensus regarding the facts.

Armed with a penetrating scientific mind and a masterly control of statistical method, it seemed patently obvious to Shockley from the existing data that eugenic measures were necessary to reverse what threatened to be a catastrophic decline in intelligence in the Western countries. To do this Shockley proposed a practical system whereby the government would offer financial rewards to individuals who voluntarily participated in a eugenic program. This came to be known as Shockley's "Bonus 1,000 proposal." It was extremely logical in its simplicity.

Since intelligence was predominantly genetic, Shockley reasoned, and society was presently suffering from severe dysgenic trends which would render all modern science worthless if allowed to continue indefinitely, a simple and humane solution was needed. With his ability to reduce the most complex problems to simple solutions, he produced a humane and morally acceptable solution, which was even economically sound. Rather than face the enormous cost of social welfare to support the increasing multitude of low IQ children being born in large numbers to low IQ fathers and mothers in the welfare ghettoes, Shockley argued, it would be cheaper for the state to grant a bonus of $1,000 per IQ point below 100 for every individual who agreed voluntarily to be sterilized.

There was nothing inhumane about this – since participation would be wholly voluntary – and the proposal had undoubted eugenic merit. In addition, it made very good financial sense, since it would bring vast reductions in social welfare spending and stimulate the economy by decreasing the number of unemployables. Then there was a further bonus down the road – a decrease in human misery for future generations, but this prospect did not stop the press from pouncing upon his suggestion and raising an outcry based on pure histrionics. (*San Francisco Chronicle*, "Shockley's Eugenics 'Bonus' Plan," May 18, 1970)

But Shockley was bolstered by a remarkable combination of intelligence and courage. Considering the barrage of criticism levelled against him during the 1960s and 70s, he stood proudly above the contemptuous canards and fallacious allegations heaped upon him. Most observers familiar with his work contend that he pursued his scientific inquiries in a dignified way throughout the

protracted ordeal, never allowing public calumny to discourage him from his perceived duty to draw the attention of the public to the debilitating effect of contemporary dysgenic trends. True to his pioneering New England whaling forebears (he was himself a keen and competent sailor), Shockley himself was genetically of the "right stuff," and proved capable of withstanding the harshest forms of denigration and insult. Irrational and poorly-reasoned broadsides were levelled against him by ideologues in both the media and the academic world. A letter by one such academic, published in the American Anthropological Association newsletter of February 1970, even urged the "destruction" of such of his writings as might be found in academic as well as public libraries.

Because media distortions threatened to mislead the public about the nature of his crusade, much of Shockley's time was wasted in efforts to neutralize baseless charges of racism, fascism, and the supposed parallels to National Socialist philosophy allegedly inherent in his works. Undoubtedly, his problems were accentuated by the prevailing Leftist disruptions of the 60s and 70s. In this climate Shockley's views were easy prey in the eyes of the organized Left.

For the Left, as we have seen in earlier chapters, the stakes were high indeed. Shockley's views were logical and simply expressed, and as such they constituted a serious challenge to the tenets of class warfare Leftists had espoused for generations. His status as public benefactor and a Nobel Prize-winner promised to incline the public to listen sympathetically to what he had to say. The answer of the Left was to seek to portray him not as a benefactor of mankind, who sought only to contribute to the well-being of future generations, but as a racist and a bigot.

Shockley's clear-headed logic made him realize, however, that notwithstanding the smears to which he might be personally submitted, in the long term humanity would only be saved from a dysgenic fate once the full force of scientific enquiry had been directed toward an investigation of the role of heredity in determining IQ and other human personality characteristics. As he stated on many occasions in letters to friends and in whatever public lectures were not canceled for fear of violence or other pressures, it was his hope that the "best solution" to real obstacles encountered by lower income groups, whether black, white, or of any other ethnic background, would be revealed by scholarly and unbiased, hopefully federally funded research into the relationship

between heredity and ability. Sound information, he knew, would benefit the impoverished segments of all races, either by confirming the need for greater social action to improve their condition, or by laying to rest those policies which appear to "permanently enslave" the poor by fostering dysgenics.

Contrary to the statements of his critics, it is important to remember that Shockley's dispassionate discussion of dysgenic heredity was never limited to any one racial group. Shockley forever placed whites along with other racial stocks in the same "control group" which was to have formed the kernel of his recommended research. Indeed, he was as concerned about the possibility of a decline in the intelligence of whites as he was about the effect on the black population of a high birthrate among the less successful "ghetto" blacks which threatened to drown out the professional blacks who were producing only small families.

Also, contrary to the image that has been conveyed to the public by the media, the validity of Shockley's assertions is not challenged by unbiased experts. This is in dramatic contrast to the impression created by sensational media accounts and by the media's favorable reporting of the propaganda of the Leftist activists ensconced in academe as though the latter was serious science. In the world of science his basic views were widely respected, and he received many congratulatory and sympathetic letters from scholars who dared not speak out publicly in his support, since their careers would have been jeopardized. Since his death, Mark Snyderman and Stanley Rothman (see chapter 9) have shown that 94%, of 661 "expert" psychologists surveyed, asserted their belief that genetic factors play a *major* role in determining human personality and intelligence, just as they do susceptibility to disease. As Shockley perceived, heredity directly influences all human conditions including educational attainment, career advancement, and achievement in all spheres of human life.

There are other points to bear in mind when considering the anti-Shockley diatribes of the past two decades. One is that dysfunction throughout the inner cities of America in the 1980s wrought social dislocation upon the nation as a whole. Its most immediate victims were, of course, blacks themselves. Avoidance of all debate into the biological causes of poverty, in preference for a blind belief in the extreme forms of environmentalism espoused by those who wish to blame poverty upon the capitalist system, ultimately traps Afro-Americans in the never-ending syndrome

from which too many suffer today. Also, despite considerable levels of social spending, solutions proposed by the anti-hereditarian social policy-makers in Washington, D.C. and elsewhere have failed to markedly resolve this situation.

While a small percentage of minorities have succeeded, there remains a large "underclass" comprising those of lower IQ individuals whom Dr. Shockley correctly identified years ago as incapable of rising in the social strata. Thus Washington, D.C., for example, spends far more per capita on public education than any of the 50 states, yet has the poorest track record by any and every criterion. Although budget "cuts" in the Reagan era were much publicized, the share of social spending as opposed to military spending was reduced only by a single percentage point by fiscal 1983, at which time social spending constituted 54% of all federal outlays. In dollar amounts, of course, many programs soared during the supposedly frugal Reagan years. These facts support the view that an exclusive reliance on environmental solutions cannot provide a successful remedy for the tragedy of extreme poverty in genetically diverse modern societies, and that an over-emphasis on environmental solutions will never solve the problem in its entirety.

The spending of ever-larger amounts of money on education is hailed as a panacea; false illusions and high expectations are created; yet the poverty and misery continue. This would not be surprising to Shockley, who familiarized himself with the research conducted by environmentalists and hereditarians alike. But during the 1960s, the drive by committed Marxists accelerated. Its main goal was to obfuscate the findings of unbiased scientists engaged in research into behavioral genetics, while using the well-worn "fascist" tag to intimidate opposition within academe and other policy-influencing circles.

So long as the image of man as a creature totally dependent on environmental factors could hold sway, egalitarian theories could continue to influence public policy. The Marxists and other egalitarians found themselves obliged to sidestep scientific issues and substitute ideology for reason. "At present, 'sociological biology' has almost nothing in common with the biology of the biologists," noted Conway Zirkle in *Evolution, Marxian Biology, and the Social Scene* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959). Left-leaning commentators insisted on ignoring the evidence linking intelligence to heredity.

During recent decades a large and ever-increasing proportion of the financial resources of the Western world has been devoted to combatting social problems. These are closely tied to minority group performance in education, employment, and other fields. What some refer to as a "social-industrial welfare complex" employs large numbers of people who have a great deal to lose should basic assumptions concerning the validity of those expenditures be challenged. Yet, as we shall see, it was never Shockley's wish to terminate aid to the unfortunate and to those handicapped by heredity, but only to reduce, so far as humanely possible, the proportion of unemployables in succeeding generations. Nor were his attitudes shaped by a callous disrespect for minority achievements. Politically motivated detractors operating in a politically charged situation were responsible for creating this misconception. As Vermont Royster sympathetically declared in 1968, there are "emotionally explosive" issues inherent in any discussion of the intelligence and genetics. (*The Wall Street Journal*, "The Lysenko Syndrome," May 22, 1968)

Proof that hereditary considerations are significant, if not predominant, topples the Leftist view of society. It undercuts the *raison d'être* for statist policies, "... for if it [the heritability of intelligence] is true," wrote Royster in the same *The Wall Street Journal* article, "it means that a large part of our public programs for welfare and for lifting up the disadvantaged are misdirected and possibly futile or even self-defeating, and that the whole national effort needs to be restudied and redirected."

But what targeted Shockley most of all, as far as the Left was concerned, was the attention he drew to the fact that genetic deterioration was "more widespread in the lower strata of the Negro population." As stated earlier, Shockley by no means restricted his concern to the genetic handicaps suffered by lower-achieving members of the minorities: he sought equally to direct attention to similar problems among the whites. He frequently used both anecdotal as well as statistical information to prove that there was a strata of U.S. whites who could be clearly identified as intellectually handicapped,and whose performance in the standard criteria – education, achievement, skills, etc. – was dismal. Yet his critics, including large segments of the media, ignored this. Instead, they selected his references to black and minority problems, ignored the documentation with which he backed all his statements, and on the basis of this selective reporting "raised the

dreaded word 'racism.'" As Royster puts it: "It seems to have done Shockley little good to assert his belief that [in regard to intelligence] 'many American Negroes are superior to many whites,' or to cite statistical studies showing that 'Negroes achieve almost every eminent distinction that whites achieve'... [or that] genetic deterioration occurs for whites as well as blacks." Marxists and fellow-thinkers preferred to ignore his honest, objective presentation of the facts. Their intention was to denigrate him, to portray him as a biased authority, and to intimidate other scholars from emulating his research or supporting his views. Some few did speak out in his support, including Sir Andrew Huxley, another Nobel Prize-winner who declared that: "Attempts to subordinate scientific judgement to political ends are misguided, even from a strictly practical point of view." Huxley likened the failure of the domestic spending programs, geared to solving problems based by a purely environmentalist approach, to the fable of "the Emperor's clothes." "Policies based on untrue assumptions," he cautioned, "are likely to lead sooner or later to disaster."(*Palo Alto Times*, "British Nobel Laureate Rises to Shockley Defense," Sept. 1, 1977)

The Left stridently charged that all scientists backing Shockley were racists. Not only was this absurd but there was nothing in Shockley's writings, pronouncements, or actions that ever suggested he was less than fully humanitarian. His personal papers reveal a concern prompted by the very idealistic sentiments which had prompted less clear-thinking liberals to sponsor the wide variety of environmentalist-based programs which have produced so few results. Where he differed from the ordinary liberal was that he showed concern for the numberless generations of humankind yet to be born, whereas the ordinary liberal vision extended only to those who were currently living.

Shockley called constantly for a nationally-funded search for answers – scientific and not ideological – to the root causes of present-day social maladies. He reminded audiences that crime rates in Denmark were only 2% of those in Washington, D.C. (since which time the crime rates in Washington and in most other major American cities have soared to a frightening level, with an average murder rate above one per day). Denmark was a useful comparison, since that country had for several decades discouraged the procreation of individuals of hopelessly low IQ.

Shockley never advocated compulsory sterilization – only financial incentives and other strictly voluntary inducements.

Meanwhile, in the post-Shockley era, another country is taking the kind of steps he recommended in order to ensure the well-being of its posterity. Singapore is offering official "encouragement" to higher IQ citizens to raise families. This was proposed by the prime minister of that city-state, Lee Kuan Yew, in 1987. As the more intelligent Chinese women attend university and enter professional careers in Singapore, the birthrate among these intelligent women fell dramatically – many never marrying. Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew recognized that the future of Singapore depended on the intelligence of its population, and realized the dysgenic threat which had emerged. Consequently the government of that small state began to promote social clubs for the exclusive purpose of encouraging well-educated single men and women to meet and, hopefully, to marry and procreate. (*The Asian Century*, Julian Weiss, Oxford University Press, 1988)

Ironically, neighboring Malaysia's population is already of a lower average IQ, but that government seeks only to expand its population, according to author Weiss, from 16 million to a level exceeding 50 millions. Critical of the concentration of wealth among the small ethnic Chinese group within their borders, the racially distinct Malays have seen a decade in which a nationwide *bumiputra* ("sons of the soil") plan, similar in many respects to affirmative action programs in the United States, sought to transfer wealth and economic opportunity from the more successful Chinese segment to the more prolific and less successful Malay element. Despite such legislation, the Malays have not achieved the socio-economic status achieved by the minority of Chinese. The Malayan effort relies on legislation and on educational improvements, ignoring the genetic problem, and consequently has achieved little.

Disturbances On Campus

As will be remembered, American colleges and universities were alive with ferment in the late 1960s and in the first half of the 1970s. This made them ideal places from which the radical Left could launch its salvos against William Shockley. The educational establishment too often chose capitulation rather than the defense of academic freedom. Faced with the wrath not only of the radical Left but also of a multitude of minority organizations that had been heavily influenced by radical Leftist propaganda, they feared for their jobs and took the easy way out.

Student cannon fodder for the Left was easily mobilized during the chaotic, confusing, and wrenching years when the anti-Western faction of the radical black movement combined with pro-Hanoi forces in the "anti-war" and "peace" movements which were flourishing at that time.

Not surprisingly, the Students for a Democratic Society, kingpin of the organized Marxist Left during this period, selected the soft-spoken, diminutive Shockley as a target against which to rally their forces. Through its ability to work with other student groups, SDS served as a catalyst for picketing, mobilization, and overt disruption undertaken by the various militant black groups. They had already shown their power by temporarily closing literally hundreds of campuses, and they had a permanent central organizing secretariat capable of coordinating activities on a nationwide scale. In particular they sought to stir up anti-white feeling among American minorities. The Far Left included black militant organizations as well as New Left groups, both claiming that capitalism was rooted in racial repression.

SDS was well-funded, highly organized, and commanded considerable sympathy within specific faculty and administrative circles on many "prestige" campuses. SDS was capable of generating considerable press attention, and for years prided itself on creating news by staging colorful dramas well suited to television. It was against this type of politically motivated muscle that Shockley was forced to wage a protracted war.

In 1968, Shockley was invited to speak before the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute in New York City on the subject of the intelligence. The tumult which erupted formed a pattern for years to come. When he rose to address the gathering of some five hundred scholars – mostly scientists – his words were drowned by a small cadre of probably less than 50 militants who had obtained admission to the meeting only for the purpose of disrupting it.

Proof of the wide interest in Shockley's views terrified the Marxists. Only a scant number of anti-Shockley activists could be found on any one campus, but the Shockley campaign was considered important enough to warrant shipping in protestors from other universities, and even from off-campus political organizations, to ensure that he would never be allowed to be heard on any campus to which he was invited.

In October 1969, over four years after the first nationwide publicity arising from the *U.S. News & World Report* interview, an

autumn speaking engagement at Dartmouth College drew the attention of the radicals. Given its proximity to Metropolitan Boston – home of 26 colleges and universities – Dartmouth was an easy place at which to stage a major campus disruption. As the Nobel Prize-winner reached the stage, the masses of imported and experienced Marxist demonstrators rioted, threatening the feeble campus security forces and intimidating onlookers.

The Dartmouth faculty and administration – which then prided itself on its open-mindedness – was disgusted. Others, including honest liberals, decried the violent tactics. "The cause of academic freedom suffered a severe setback," noted *The New York Times*, in an editorial which at this early stage was considerably more objective than many it was later to publish. The *Times* continued: "pressures to politicize the universities are pernicious," regardless of their origins. (*The New York Times*, "Free Universities – Or Captive?" Oct. 20, 1969)

Disruption by political extremists occurred in other instances when Shockley was allowed to reach the speaker's platform. What *The Sacramento Journal* termed "a violent disruption" occurred at Sacramento State College in 1971. (*Sacramento Journal*, June 1, 1971) Equally controversial speakers had been allowed to speak there without incident, but the Left knew what it was doing when it targeted Shockley but allowed others to speak. Many lecture invitations that might have been extended to Shockley from colleges all around America were never issued, and others that were issued were withdrawn. College president William Bierenbaum of Staten Island Community College invited Shockley to speak as part of a series that featured an array of "controversial" guests, including Bobby Seale, chairman of the Marxist Black Panther Party, on that publicly-supported campus. But charging that "the ruling class" sponsored Shockley as part of a "national movement of racism in the universities," a leader of the Progressive Labor Party warned that turmoil would ensue if the engagement took place. The administration lacked the courage to face such pressures and backed down. Harvard and Radcliffe similarly took scheduled Shockley debates off their program agenda.

Much to its credit, the all-black music radio station in New York, WWRL – among the most popular stations in that city's metropolitan region – chose to place itself on record as supporting Shockley's right to speak under the terms of society's free speech covenants.

In March 1974, Shockley was forced off the stage at the University of Georgia, and at Case-Western University violent heckling and barracking again prevented him from being heard in September 1974. The University of Texas experienced a similar disruption and heckling incident when he appeared there.

At Princeton University in April 1975, activists tried hard to prevent him from debating Roy Innis, chairman of the activist group CORE (Congress of Racial Equality). When Shockley made it to Yale, a band of 70 students and nonstudents shouted down everyone at the podium, forcing Shockley to abandon hope of communicating with the audience of several hundred. A year later, at the University of Kansas, the threat of violence from howling youths advancing on the podium caused the campus authorities to request Shockley to leave the auditorium. Shockley must have wondered why he ever bothered to invent the transistor.

Media coverage of the campus disturbances appeared objective when it came to accounts of the physical conflicts or melées that took place, because this had news value, but they distorted the facts when it came to reporting Shockley's views. For example, in the November 1971 incident at Sacramento State University, the physicist was described simply as one who "believes that blacks are genetically inferior to whites in native intelligence." No further comment on or discussion of his research and recommendations appeared in that or in other articles reviewing the disruption. *The San Francisco Examiner* account noted that 450 students packed the lecture hall, and that as many or more waited outside, where loudspeakers would have carried the presentation live if it had been allowed to take place. (*The San Francisco Examiner*, "Blacks Halt Geneticist's Talk," Nov. 23, 1971)

The branches of the Black Student Union at different colleges and universities played relatively little role in these disturbances. The BSU was a somewhat amorphous network of black college students containing both radical and moderate students. Only at Sacramento State was a small contingent of the BSU responsible for the outburst. Here the press reported that "the president of the BSU grabbed the microphone" when Shockley was to begin his presentation. (*The San Francisco Examiner*, "BSU Blasted for Preventing Shockley Talk," Dec. 15, 1971) Instead it was usually SDS agitators who led the attack. Thus, in 1972, Shockley's own class at Stanford was invaded by the SDS-linked Third World Liberation Front, who seized control of the classroom and read bombastic

political statements, blocking an official lecture by Shockley. "We, the Third World peoples," they pronounced, "have found Shockley racist, not only for his writings and speeches, but also in his actions ..." Among those "actions" was allegedly the advocacy of "race theories to make killing the future generation of black and other poor people legal"! (*Palo Alto Times*, "16 Invade Shockley Class," Jan. 19, 1972)

A "Third World Coalition Against Shockley" surfaced briefly under radical Left tutelage at Stanford in 1972, but the rallies organized on his own campus drew meager attendance. "The group of about 80 marchers ... burned Shockley in effigy ... before dispersing," noted *The Stanford Daily* (Feb. 17, 1972). Other fringe groups such as the Revolutionary Community Youth (described by *The San Francisco Chronicle* as "a minority faction of SDS") worked to prevent universities from daring to issue invitations to Shockley after Harvard's cancellation of his invited lecture. Associated Press stories of the April 1972 disruption at Harvard described it as SDS-affiliated, and the SDS proudly claimed credit for issuing "WANTED: DEAD OR ALIVE" posters bearing a likeness of the Nobel Prize-winner. (*The San Francisco Chronicle*, "SDS Faction Demands Action," Apr. 1, 1972)

An October 1973 decision by Harvard to prohibit Shockley's appearance demonstrates a response typical of fearful university administrators. "The realities and exigencies of a less than free intellectual climate," stated a (Harvard) Law School memo circulated on the 18th of October, "outbalanced the desirability of our making a stand for freedom of speech." (*The Harvard Crimson*, Oct. 24, 1973)

While a few civil libertarians came to Shockley's defense, those free speech advocates who were closely linked with the organized Left never followed suit. In February 1970, the American Civil Liberties Union agreed to investigate the anti-Shockley disturbances which had disrupted his proposed Dartmouth lecture, but although they invited Shockley to give his account of the events, they allowed him only five days in which to respond. This made it impossible for a busy man to prepare an effective response, and since the ACLU gave him no extension of time, its report on the incident, despite fundamental First Amendment implications, was released without his input, and contributed little of value to the defense of academic freedom. (WS Personal Papers)

A review of the situation at Stanford University in 1972

revealed growing activism by Leftist members of the faculty. When Shockley sought to offer a course on dysgenics as part of the Stanford standard curriculum, his proposal met strident opposition from Leftist faculty who used the pretext that the topic was too far removed from Shockley's area of official expertise. They fell back on their favorite technique of disparaging Shockley's competence in the field to which he altruistically had turned his attention following his co-invention of the transistor. In short, they argued that he had had "no formal academic training" in the social sciences. Shockley's answer was summarized in a lecture to the Fresno Forum on March 19, 1967:

> [I bring] the qualifications of a scientist, an educator, an engineer, and specifically my operations research experience in World War II ... my activities were concerned with anti-submarine warfare and radar bombing techniques and my contributions in these unfamiliar fields brought me the Medal for Merit, the highest civilian decoration. I regard my role in respect to human genetics as being professionally similar to my wartime experiences in the sense that detailed knowledge of the intricacies of the field may even distract attention from the central issue to important but irrelevant details.

As all in academe know, Ph.D.s – which represent "formal training" – are actually a lowly achievement, and are rated as "a dime a dozen." A scholar of Shockley's eminence was not to be compared with a young student who had just completed his graduate studies. Just as Michelangelo showed how a talented mind can outperform mediocre specialists in widely diverse areas, so with Shockley. Shockley was a genius, of that there can be little doubt, and what his detractors failed to mention was that he was an expert not only in scientific method, but also a brilliant mathematician. In an age when social scientists are still struggling to achieve scientific recognition by introducing rigorously statistical approaches to their studies, Shockley brought one of the world's best mathematical minds to the social sciences, and devoted his superbly trained mind to the study of the heritability of IQ for more than 25 years. Indeed, it would not be unfair to say that he spent more time studying the problem of dysgenics than he did researching the transistor. He gave more time to the study of social problems than many of his less gifted detractors gave to research in the social

sciences during their entire lives.

Despite the claims of his adversaries, Shockley's request to teach a course on heritability and IQ at Stanford did not fall into any "gray" area. Countless examples exist within the Ivy League of academics handling courses in fields outside their immediate purview. However, because of the objections raised against the course, Lincoln Moses, dean of the graduate school at Stanford, established a committee to recommend whether Shockley should be permitted to offer the course. After deliberation, the five member faculty group recommended that Shockley should indeed be permitted to teach the course as part of the official curriculum, without formal credits being granted to enrollees. This was acceptable to Shockley, but fearful of the radical element, Dean Moses shocked the more unbiased members of the faculty at Stanford by overruling the recommendation of his own committee. Shockley was prohibited from teaching the course, even though the Dean's committee had approved it under terms acceptable to Shockley. (*Time*, May 25, 1972 pp. 53-54)

Honest liberals, who might be expected to be unenthusiastic about the course, were dismayed. "Who is trying to kid who?" asked renowned Harvard law professor Alan Dershowitz. "Does anybody really believe that a Nobel Prize-winner who had devoted considerable time to studying a 'relevant' subject would be denied the opportunity to give a graduate elective [course] – even on a non-credit basis – if the subject were not so controversial?" Noting that "the values of free speech and academic freedom are under attack from both right and left," Dershowitz identified the most outrageous of the Left's charges, namely, that Shockley preached "genocide," asking "how dare serious academics use the word 'genocide' to describe Shockley's teaching? Are they really so ignorant that they do not understand the meaning of that word?"

To make matters worse, the rallying cry of the anti-Shockley contingent – that he had, as Jerry Hirsch proclaimed, "taken up the segregationists' cause" – now came to be regularly used as an excuse to reject applications from faculty and students for permission to invite Shockley to speak on their campuses. Capitulation became the common response on most major campuses. As one of Shockley's own students noted: "oversimplified and exaggerated perceptions," along with the "sensationalized" racial components of his thesis, led many of his peers in the academic world to sidestep the fundamental precept of scholarship: "the crucial need for

open-mindedness."

Shockley's Actual View of Blacks

The reason Shockley gave so much of himself to this subject was well known to his colleagues, and cannot be repeated too often. As Shockley said repeatedly, the inter-generational transmission of genetically-based intellectual talent was essential to the well-being of posterity. The entire future of humanity depended upon the willingness of each successive generation, including our own, to pass on a competent and healthy genetic heritage. So dependent has mankind made itself on science and technology, and so radically has mankind altered the earth's environment, that a posterity low in intelligence could have little to look forward to in its future.

In examining the attacks on the Nobel Laureate, it is important for serious students of the issue to understand Shockley's actual view of blacks. Most of the harshest criticism levelled against him concerned alleged bias, but as Shockley correctly emphasized, the dysgenic threat affects all races. Shockley provided both anecdotal and statistical information about dysgenic procreation among whites in order to drive home that message. The barrage directed against him, as he correctly implored observers to realize, led scientists and politicians alike to ignore the highly urgent nature of the problem. "A consequence," he warned in 1978, "is that the dysgenic threat to blacks is overlooked."

What Shockley and others termed "the tragedy" facing certain of America's minorities is even more apparent today in the dysfunction of inner city ghetto communities where developments appear to be following the pattern prophesied by Shockley. Many blacks "suffer the misery of ... the tragedy [of dysgenics]," he wrote, citing statistics in unemployment, educational attainment, and other measurements of basic skills. A high rate of procreation among the less competent members of that community could only spell misery for the next generation. Those black families which had achieved economic success were tending to restrict the size of their families, while those who had failed continued to reproduce at high levels. This indicated that the problem would become worse, despite all attempts at environmental solutions.

Shockley repeatedly warned that attempts to apply inappropriate remedies, based on inaccurate knowledge, would be ineffective and could make the problem self-perpetuating. Inade-

quately planned "band-aid" welfare programs, he felt, were actually accentuating the dysgenic trends among Afro-Americans. "Untold harm" was being done by dysgenic trends *within* the black community, he warned a scientific conference in 1975, pointing out that American blacks as a group average about fifteen IQ points lower than whites. Research had established that *cultural bias does not explain* lower black IQ scores and, furthermore, that IQ scores *do* statistically predict educational achievement – and do so equally as well for blacks as for whites.

Thus, the IQ deficit predicates – again only statistically, Shockley cautioned – deficient educational achievement and, hence, inferior jobs, lower pay, and lower social status for the less intelligent black Americans, exactly as detailed in NAACP leaflets. And this situation would get worse as the average black IQ declined further over the generations. Shockley never for a moment argued that other factors of an environmental nature did not contribute to Afro-American deprivation where this existed, but he sought to emphasize that unless the IQ gap could be decreased, or at least be prevented from increasing, the elimination of massive areas of black poverty would be impossible.

Shockley's compassionate thesis was that the tragedy of the ghettoes would continue to grow if the dysgenic facts which he identified were permitted to progress toward their logical conclusion, and the average IQ of blacks was allowed to decline further due to the over-reproduction of the less intelligent among that community and the relatively lower rate of reproduction of the more intelligent blacks who found their way into professional careers. Suitable remedies could only be devised, Shockley believed, if responsible scientific investigators of proven sincerity were provided with the financial resources with which to carry out an in-depth study of the genetic factors involved.

Shockley's Effort to Stimulate the National Academy of Science to Action

Shockley's efforts to induce the scientific establishment to investigate the seriousness of the dysgenic threat to modern America, and to determine once and for all the degree to which intelligence was inherited, were deeply resisted by the Leftists in academe and by scholars who feared adverse publicity if they publicly supported his proposal for a National Academy of Sciences (NAS) investigation into "human quality." Such research, Shockley

argued, offered humanity the chance to ensure a sound future for posterity by reducing dysgenic trends if the role of genetics in determining intelligence was as strong as he and other experts believed. Conversely, if it were found negligible, the results would dispel false notions about the genetic component of intelligence. (*The New York Times*, "Nobel Prize Winner Urges Research on Racial Heredity," Oct. 18, 1966)

Five successive attempts, from 1967-72, pitted the physicist against not only the politically-motivated bias which had infiltrated the scientific establishment but also many academically oriented institutions which were influenced by fear of adverse media exposure. It is worth remembering that the NAS, as a federally-funded entity, was subject to the same pressures as are experienced by Congressmen. In order to keep the good will of a Democratic-controlled, liberal-leaning Congress, NAS officers did not wish to collaborate with Shockley once he had been lambasted in the media.

Considering the NAS to be "the nation's intellectual conscience," Shockley invited it to sponsor an enquiry into dysgenic trends and related issues, but after his resolutions were seconded, they were tabled. Shockley was supported by a number of renowned scientists such as Walter Alvarez, emeritus professor and a leader of the Mayo Foundation, and Nobel Prize-winner John Northrop, the world-famous chemist. But the forces behind American Lysenkoism succeeded in preventing the adoption of his proposal. At a second try in 1969, a Shockley resolution that an unbiased team of scientists, funded by the nation, should be appointed to investigate the dysgenic threat was tabled by a 200-10 vote. The language of the resolution reflects the humane forward-looking views of Shockley, although mention of these was rarely made in press accounts:

> I propose as a social goal that every baby born should have a high probability of leading a dignified, rewarding, and satisfying life regardless of its skin color or sex. To understand hereditary cause and effect relationships for human quality problems is an obligation of the scientifically responsible brotherhood. I believe also that this goal can best be achieved by applying scientific inquiry to our human quality problems. (WS Press Release April 28, 1969)

W.D. McElroy, chairman of the biology department at Johns Hopkins University, and director of the National Science Foundation, wrote a personal letter to Shockley after the meeting, expressing the true attitudes and fears of many prominent intellectuals. "I did not disagree with your proposal *per se*," he wrote to Shockley on May 13, 1969, "But I felt ... that it would be interpreted by the press and the general public in a racist way."

Shockley's third attempt to persuade the NAS to investigate the question of intelligence, heredity and environment was made the occasion of a counterattack by a minority faction within NAS. That group now sought to censure Shockley. Nevertheless, Shockley this time won the support of a specially appointed NAS investigating committee. The committee members declared it "proper and socially relevant" to undertake the studies which the much-smeared Nobelist had proposed. But so organized was the opposition that the delegates to the assembly caved in and simply voted to "receive" the committee's suggestion, without "accepting" it. Shockley persisted, however, and in 1972 the Academy conceded the validity of his arguments and formally agreed to establish a seminar on behavioral genetics, although the method of selecting participation on that body was left unclear, and in reality nothing came of the measure. (*The San Francisco Chronicle*, "Shockley Wins Partial Victory," Oct. 18, 1972)

Media Attacks

As we have seen, the tone that characterized the most vicious anti-Shockley diatribes which surfaced at SDS-spawned rallies were matched by fallacious press reports. The National Academy of Science controversy gave the less reliable elements in the press yet another opportunity to misrepresent Shockley as a bigot. It was Shockley's "inner psychic drive ... essentially racist in expression," which propelled his NAS resolutions, declared *Newsweek*, one of his most bitter and outrageous critics. (May 17, 1971)

Apart from the many biased accounts of Shockley's lectures and activities in the media, his attempts to persuade the National Academy of Sciences to recognize the importance of research into group differences in heredity were distorted in many press accounts. One of these actually indicated that Shockley had received a severe rebuff from the then-NAS President, Philip Handler. In its article, "Handler denies quotes in Academy Story," the now-defunct *Washington Daily News* reported that NAS president Philip

Handler had been obliged to deny the accuracy of statements that had been attributed to him by the media indicating that he did not believe intelligence was in any way hereditary. ("Handler Denies Quotes in Story," June 16, 1971)

Astonishingly, Handler was misquoted in a way which completely distorted his actual interpretation of Shockley's arguments. Handler was quoted as saying that:

> Shockley denies the environment a person is raised in is important to IQ and claims it's all genetics. I say it's exactly the other way around.

This, Handler pointed out, was not what he had said. Although unwilling to support Shockley, Handler was far too careful a scholar to make such a ridiculous statement.

Attempts by Shockley to clarify these types of distortion, which became more apparent over the years, were seldom well received by the print media. In many instances, when Shockley asked that a few words be included in news articles to clarify the facts, his requests were ignored. In time, he became so prepared for unfair coverage that he would only answer the telephone to reporters and unknown callers on the understanding that they did not object to the conversation being taped for accuracy. Shockley resorted, at one point, to sending reporters copies of interviews by registered mail as a means of ensuring that no distortions could appear in print by accident. Fighting the web of falsehood built up by the media became an increasingly time-consuming process for this dedicated genius.

As the public debate over welfare programs intensified, it came as little surprise that William Shockley was hounded in much of the popular press, and his attempts to communicate his views to the general public were consistently thwarted by the media. This saddened him, because he knew that the future of humanity depended upon sound research into the relationship between genetics and intelligence, and on the ability of each succeeding generation to bequeath an adequate heritage of intellectual qualities to posterity. Some of the misreporting was due simply to the fact that most reporters were unable to understand his sophisticated mathematical approach. As the *Los Angeles Times* remarked, "his writing is ... somewhat statistical, reading like a scientific treatise ... and packed with phrases that do not enhance

clarity." Shockley, who had a highly developed if somewhat wry sense of humor, did not endear himself to the media when he retaliated by inviting future reporters seeking interviews to submit to standard intelligence tests to prove themselves capable of comprehending his explanations!

Serious questions arise about the intentions of many of the journalists who so consistently misreported Shockley's views, and their failure to acknowledge the self-acknowledged Marxist orientation of some of the academic critics whom they so frequently cited as "authorities" in opposition to Shockley. The events of the late 1960s and 1970s cannot be understood outside the context of what was taking place in society, and is still in process.

IQ tests had already been made controversial because they posed disturbing questions for much of the liberal as well as the Far Left ideology. The most sensitive issue, as far as political groups on the Left were concerned, was the challenge posed to those who advocated blindly increasing social spending. If spending were unlikely to achieve the desired results, the virtue of massive increases in social programs would draw far less support from all levels of society.

One other point concerning media coverage is the question of whether the press ever tried to fully understand the issue. No probing analysis of the Shockley view ever took place in the essentially negative press commentary. His positions on public policy often coincided with those of the liberals on issues such as social programs. His staunch denial of absolute genetic determinism to the exclusion of all environmental influences, and his advocacy of financial rewards for those with defective heredity who voluntarily requested sterilization, were points disclosed only in those sections of the media that afforded him balanced coverage.

While not all the inaccurate coverage was intentionally so, the combination of media mischief plus lack of scientific knowledge inevitably resulted in fallacious reporting. The importance of dysgenic trends, particularly to the minorities in America, was left out of most discussions. That factor alone, as future generations will doubtless concur, did a massive disservice to society as a whole, and damaged the interests of those American minorities which are experiencing dysgenic trends.

The increasingly unfavorable media coverage included the crimes of omission and biased selectivity of reporting. For example, when *The Detroit News* carried a *UPI* syndicated story – "Why Does

Prof. Shockley Think Blacks Are Inferior?" – it left out much of the original interview with the Nobel Laureate, and concluded its story with the totally ridiculous comment that: "If he is correct, the eugenic consequences are frightening. Unfortunately, we may never know the answer unless Prof. Shockley and his colleagues are liberated from prejudice." (*The Detroit News*, Sept. 15, 1974)

The tone of many media accounts suggested that Shockley pitted races against each other. The realities concerning the dysgenic trends Shockley warned against are far more profound than that, and Shockley readily pointed out "inferiority" when he found it among whites. Science knows no racial prejudice in the strictest sense. Whites were included equally with blacks in Shockley's proposals for financial incentives to reduce the procreation of those of extremely low intelligence and conversely to encourage the procreation of the more gifted – who were failing to perpetuate their numbers under current socio-economic conditions. *The New York Times* was among those which, while editorially supporting the cause of free speech and Shockley's right to appear as an invited guest speaker on campuses despite Marxist disruption, inaccurately proclaimed that one series of Shockley's lectures were entitled "On the Superiority of the White Race." Needless to say, such extravagant misrepresentations in this key media vehicle did Shockley and his cause a tremendous disservice.

Shockley was aware of some fair treatment, especially during the earlier stage of his campaign, and acknowledged it. *The New York Times* treatment of Shockley's appearance before an NAS audience in Durham, N.C., in its 1966 story "Nobel Winner Urges Research on Racial Heredity" was balanced, reporting facts without editorial judgment. (Oct. 18, 1966) But he soon learned to expect the "scare" headlines and hyperbolic verbiage used in too many articles ("Nobelist Shocks 'Em Again," proclaimed one *San Francisco Examiner* headline on Oct. 30, 1968). Nevertheless, Shockley never shunned the opportunity to speak his mind freely to the public, even though he made increasing efforts to protect himself against media misreporting.

Increasingly, the press ignored a theme central to Shockley's writings and public utterances. This was his "concern for the well-being of disadvantaged minorities" and hence, his "insistence on the moral aspects of the obligation to diagnose." By omitting this issue from the coverage of his views, the press in effect censored – and worse still distorted – the presentation of his

opinions to the public.

Furthermore, reporters were generally ignorant of the scientific basis of the subjects he was discussing. They knew little of genetics or about IQ testing. Had they contacted leading authorities on genetics, IQ performance and testing, and similar subjects, they would have been able more objectively to construe the views held by the scientific community within the confines of academe, where theories are rigorously defined and debated. Yet they seem to have had no time for this, and thus it was erroneously reported that his "view is widely attacked by biologists and geneticists" by *The Washington Post* in 1969 in an article which gave the impression that other scholars generally regarded Shockley's views as a "pseudo-scientific justification for class and race prejudice." (April 30, 1969)

Repeatedly the press referred to Shockley's statements about racial differences in the IQ as merely "theory," despite the vast array of factual evidence of statistical differences in IQ scores. Today few, if any, scholars would seek to challenge the fact that a highly significant and consistent difference in scores has consistently characterized racial groups for the several decades over which reliable testing has taken place. Such erroneous reports, once they have appeared in print, tend to be repeated again and again in other publications. This would particularly be the case when a publication as important as *Time* magazine declared that: "Virtually all scientists reject these views, of course, arguing that there is no sound evidence of intellectual differences based on race or of intellectual decline based on genetics." (*Time*, Dec. 19, 1977) Someone should have told the journalist responsible for this piece of nonsense that he should always stop and think before he uses the phrase "of course."

As if deliberate misrepresentations of Shockley's data were not enough, columnist Tom Wicker declared that Professor Shockley's "bigoted" theories were "repugnant," charging that: "It can reasonably be argued that – on this subject, rather than in his field of expertise – he is not professionally entitled to serious attention or academic credit." Ironically, if the same standards were applied by the press to the scholars they approached to criticize Shockley, few would be given credence since *they* often spoke outside their own field of expertise. Also, they frequently sought to create a false sense of genetic-environmental dichotomy. By misrepresenting advocates of genetic research as "genetic determinists," politically-

motivated critics were able to create the totally false impression that Shockley denied *any* role to environment. This was patently and ridiculously untrue.

Yet Shockley believed from the beginning that the fate of posterity rested in the hands of the media, who had it in their power to bring the findings of science to the public. "I believe," wrote Shockley in February 1969, "that one of the most valuable services the press can perform ... is to convey ... the status of knowledge as appraised by Jensen ... [if they would do this] a useful and accurate analysis meaningful to the average reader could be achieved ..." (WPS Press Release)

Eventually, however, the level of reporting and vilification sank so low that Shockley determined to sue one newspaper as an example. Despite the fact that he had extended every courtesy to its reporter, to whom he gave a lengthy interview, answering all questions freely (and carefully recording the full interview so as to discourage misrepresentation), *The Atlanta Constitution* published a totally outrageous report on him, accusing him outright of holding Nazi-like theories.

The Atlanta Constitution Case

Thus in 1981, one of the country's premier daily newspapers, *The Atlanta Constitution*, offered its readers a libelous and outrageous account of its reporter's interview with Shockley which contained a multitude of inaccurate statements. This described his work in dysgenics as a "demagogic hobby," and referred to his highly detailed research and findings as "rubbish." Shockley was particularly concerned that, as he put it, "readers of the article will remain ignorant" of the mathematical analyses he frequently prepared for lectures and for journalists. No reference was made to his expertise as a mathematician, to the advanced statistical methods used by him to calculate the evidence for dysgenic trends, to his paradigm for analyzing IQ scores, or even to the parallel observations of Jensen, Herrnstein and others. The information that "this scientific tool is available for research on hereditary factors in racial differences" was deliberately, Shockley concluded, suppressed and withheld from the public. In its place was substituted a barrage of defamatory editorial remarks. Because so much of his research was omitted in any form, Shockley, with justification, saw this reportage as a "hatchet job" – and one far more sinister than those that had appeared in other papers before that. He

decided to sue the newspaper for $1.25 million to halt further disgraceful instances of misrepresentation of this kind.

An example of distortion, he noted in the lawsuit he initiated in July of that year, was the allegation that his views were directly traceable to those of Adolf Hitler. No consideration was given, of course, to the fact that he had headed America's anti-submarine warfare research during World War II. "The article contains the most unwarranted derogatory presentation of my position that I can remember," declared the Stanford professor. Left out of the story altogether was any reference to the voluntary nature of his call for participation in a eugenic program available to members of all races. Described as an "amateur geneticist," he was portrayed as a prejudiced racist throughout the content, and no attempt was made to secure balanced coverage.

The trial, held before a mixed race jury in Atlanta, Georgia, was long and costly, and provided the media with ample opportunity to defame Shockley still further. One local television station took the opportunity to invite the distinguished professor to an allegedly "unbiased" debate on his views, which was patently rigged against him. Not only did the panel appear to comprise hardened radical agitators and a couple of scholars who had made known their opposition to Shockley's thesis, but the audience was equipped with banners and whistles, and was permitted to heckle and scream so vociferously that only Shockley's opponents could be heard, while Shockley was hardly permitted to complete a single sentence. Such was the way in which a licensed American TV station sought to treat one of the world's greatest scientists and benefactors.

It should be noted that Shockley, whose mind was accustomed to dealing with intellectual problems on the very frontiers of science, kept his dignity throughout the proceedings, while everyone else, even the two "anti-racist" scholars, Jerry Hirsch and Barry Mehler (about whom more latter), seemed to be caught up in the infectious excitement of the riotous proceedings.

The result of the long drawn out *Atlanta Constitution* trial, which cost Shockley some $80,000, vindicated his position, when the federal jury decided in his favor. But although Shockley's case against the libelous *Atlanta Constitution* article was found to be valid, he was awarded only $1 compensation – and no costs! In point of fact, those who had libelled him had won the day. Other scholars learned that if they dared to emulate this great American scholar

and defend politically unpopular facts, they could expect similar, if not worse, treatment by a media which had nothing to fear from the law. Such was to be the experience of J. Philippe Rushton at the University of Western Ontario.

6 / J. PHILIPPE RUSHTON

Readers may not have heard of the remarkable experiences of a distinguished Guggenheim Fellow, Professor J. Philippe Rushton of the University of Western Ontario, following his presentation of a paper at the American Association for the Advancement of Science meeting held in San Francisco in January 1989.

Rushton's Theory

As the author of numerous scholarly articles and no less than five important academic books (in particular his *Altruism, Socialization and Society*, Prentice-Hall, 1980), Rushton was in an excellent position to survey and summarize the content of papers he had recently published in a wide variety of refereed academic journals, in which he had analyzed the results of research conducted by a large number of other scholars. Rushton documented IQ among whites, Orientals and blacks in various parts of the world, and added data relating to some 50 to 60 other variables, never before collated in so comprehensive a fashion. These included such qualities as brain size, the rate of dizygotic twinning, sexuality, temperament and personality, social organizational skills, rate of maturation and longevity. The data were gathered from Africa and Asia, as well as Europe and North America. His conclusions showed a distinct pattern, with Orientals and blacks at opposite ends of the spectrum and whites occupying a median position (e.g., J.P. Rushton, "Race differences in behavior: A review and evolutionary analysis," *Personality and Individual Differences*, 9: 1009-1024, 1988; and "The reality of racial differences: A rejoinder with new evidence," *Personality and Individual Differences*, 9: 1035-1040, 1988).

For example, Rushton claimed that regardless of the country from which the samples are taken, the rate of dizygotic twinning per 1000 births is less than 4 among Mongoloids, 8 among Caucasoids, and 16 or greater among Negroids. Moreover, Orientals, producing the fewest gametes, average the largest brains, whether measured by brain weight at autopsy, by endocranial volume, or by external head measurements (J.P. Rushton, "Do *r-K* strategies underlie human race differences?" *Canadian Psychology*, 32: 29-32, 1991). Rushton argued that there is no known environ-

mental factor capable of producing this inverse relationship or of causing so many diverse variables to correlate in so comprehensive a fashion. There is, however, a genetic one: evolution.

The racial ordering, Rushton proposed, may correspond to what is familiar to evolutionary biologists as the *r-K* scale of reproductive strategy. At one end of this scale are "*r*-strategies," which emphasize high reproductive rates, and at the other, "*K*-strategies," which emphasize high levels of parental investment. The bioenergetic tradeoff between these has been postulated to underlie cross-species differences in numerous life history characteristics, including parental care, infant mortality, social system complexity, and longevity (E.O. Wilson, *Sociobiology: The New Synthesis*, Harvard U.P., 1975). Rushton suggested that Mongoloids are more *K*-selected than Caucasoids, who in turn are more *K*-selected than Negroids, with environmental influences accounting for about 50% of the variance on most traits.

Following the aforementioned work of E.O. Wilson and that of J.T. Bonner (*The Evolution of Culture in Animals*, Princeton University Press, 1980) on the evolution of culture in animals, Rushton also mapped the *r-K* scale of reproductive strategies onto human evolution. For this he used studies of genetic distancing drawn from molecular biology, including the analysis of DNA sequencing. He suggested that groups that are more *K*-selected in their reproduction strategy emerged later in the evolutionary process than groups that are less *K*-selected. Archaic versions of the three races are envisaged as emerging from the ancestral hominid line in the following order: Negroids about 200,000 years ago, Caucasoids about 110,000 years ago, and Mongoloids about 41,000 years ago (Stringer & Andrews, "Genetic and fossil evidence for the origin of modern humans" *Science* 239: 1263-1268, 1988). Such an ordering, Rushton argued, fits with and helps explain the way in which the variables he studied were found to cluster: Negroids, the earliest to emerge, were least *K*-selected; Caucasoids, emerging later, were next least *K*-selected; and Orientals, emerging latest, were the most *K*-selected.

The present author would hesitate to support Rushton's hypothesis concerning the dating and *relative* evolutionary history of Caucasoids and Mongoloids, since too little is known about the evolutionary history of the Mongoloids and the climatic conditions in which they evolved during the period of the fourth ice age. But Rushton's view as to the generally disparate evolutionary history of

the hominids is an unavoidable conclusion, without which, there would be no physiological differences in living human populations. Nor should any evolutionary anthropologist seek to deny the role played by speciation in the history of hominid evolution. Furthermore, Rushton's *r-K* reproductive theorem is also plausible, being based on widespread research carried out by numerous respected scholars, and is certainly something entitled to be discussed objectively without emotional histrionics or political protests.

Rushton did not claim to have established his various hypotheses. They may never be established in their entirety. But if they, or any part of them, or even any parallel hypotheses were eventually confirmed, we would have an explanation of the problem as to why the measured traits are statistically distributed among racial groups in the distinct patterns to which Rushton refers. His theories provide working hypotheses based on an evolutionary explanation of many human behavioral traits, and consequently comply with two fundamental goals of any science: the search to provide causal explanations of phenomena, and the search to unify separate fields of thought. These are powerful incentives for theory making and have historically driven the work of the best scientists (B.R. Gross, "The Case of Philippe Rushton," *Academic Questions* 3 (4), 1990). Focusing on a network of international evidence allows a greater chance of finding powerful theories than does examining any individual dimension in one particular country.

It is worth mentioning at this point the two caveats that Rushton emphasized in his AAAS presentation. First, because there is enormous variability *within* each population and because the population distributions overlap, it is always problematic to generalize from a group average to any particular individual. Secondly, Rushton emphasizes that because genetic effects are necessarily mediated by neurohormonal and psychosocial mechanisms, many opportunities exist for intervention and the alleviation of suffering.

The Fallout

Rushton knew that his work would result, sooner or later, in a political explosion. As a graduate student at the London School of Economics in 1973, Rushton had been witness to the assault on Professor Hans Eysenck there (quoted in Professor Eysenck's Introduction). Indeed, in a photograph of this attack, Rushton can be seen in the middle of the melée attempting to help rescue

Eysenck from the demonstrators. At the time, and throughout the remainder of the 1970s, Rushton worked primarily from within an environmentalist, social learning perspective. It was only after the publication of his book, *Altruism, Socialization, and Society* (Prentice Hall, 1980), that he began to explore the genetic basis of personality, a search that eventually led to his confrontation with the question of race.

Let us now examine what happened to Rushton. This can be divided into (a) the media campaign, followed by (b) the complaint made by his opponents to the Ontario Provincial Police and the subsequent Police Investigation, and finally (c) the ongoing pattern of political incidents and administrative reaction at his University.

The Media Campaign

It was the representatives of the media more than the members of the American Association for the Advancement of Science who reacted most to Rushton's novel presentation. Reporters present at the meeting immediately sought to make his thesis into a major scandal. After demanding and getting a press conference with the president of the AAAS, Dr. Walter Massey, a black scholar who is vice president for research at the University of Chicago, reporters were disappointed when they were told that Rushton's credentials as a psychologist were good and that scholars participating in the conference were free to draw any conclusions they chose. Successfully avoiding more slanted questions, vice president Massey affirmed that the AAAS would never consider muzzling any scholar, since the free expression of views was the essence of academic discussion.

Thus the initial newspaper reports were reasonable compared with what was to come later – except that they appeared under unduly bold headlines and still contrived to imply that the conference had rejected Professor Rushton's presentation forcefully. Thus the *Toronto Star* of January 20, 1989 ran the headline "CANADIAN PROFESSOR'S STUDY STIRS UPROAR AT CONFERENCE." To be sure that the incident would not pass unnoticed, it ran another article on January 22 under very heavy black underlined print, "THEORY 'RACIST': PROF HAS SCHOLARS BOILING."

This second article included items culled as a result of some rapid canvassing during which reporters phoned scholars for their opinions, seeking negative statements on which to build a story. Alleging that Rushton had "rocked" the AAAS Conference (a very

exaggerated statement since few of the 10,000 members attending would ever have noted his presentation but for the media), the reporters contacted University of Western Ontario's president who, they reported, "defended Rushton, saying academic freedom entitled him to express his views. He called Rushton a highly regarded academic who this year was made a fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation for academic excellence."

Not satisfied with this initial reaction by the president of Rushton's university, the reporters contacted Arthur Herschman, the conference organizer, and managed to cull a phrase from his response which they thought worth using. They quoted him as agreeing that Rushton's presentation was "terribly embarrassing." And, by calling as far afield as the University of Washington, they found a faculty member, Garland Allen, who was prepared to allege that Rushton's material was "about the most racist stuff I've ever heard" – which was about all the evidence the reporters could produce to justify the *Star*'s incendiary headline. Indeed, all they could add to Allen's comment was that "In a news release he distributed before his speech, Rushton predicted orientals would overtake North America and Europe economically and scientifically" and that "AIDS will spread quicker in Africa than in the Pacific Rim countries."

Not letting the matter drop, however, reporters from the *Toronto Star* brought out another news report on January 28. This time they contacted the London, Ontario, branch of the Urban Alliance on Race Relations to ask their opinion on the matter, and were able to report that that organization demanded the suspension of Rushton from the University of Western Ontario. Similarly, they reported that an organization calling itself the Caribbean Students Association wanted Rushton's department to either support what he had said or to "shut him up." *Star* reporter Linda Hurst now went further and alleged that "His colleagues brand his theories everything from racist to pure hokum. And ordinary Canadians are just plain embarrassed." No survey or evidence to support either of these statements was presented, nor did she make any effort to identify the "ordinary Canadians" whose views she claimed to be reporting.

This was an appropriate time for the Communist Party of Canada to join in the melée and demand that Rushton be fired: "There are well established procedures for the dismissal of tenured

staff," the *Star* reported the CPC as stating, "[the university] must activate them at once, bringing charges against Rushton for his anti-scientific and racist activities."

A new article, published even longer after the event, now contained new "information," linking Rushton's paper to Nobel Prize-winner Shockley's "controversial" writings on racial differences. A further call to the AAAS persuaded Joan Wrather, cited as an AAAS spokesman, to say that "we support academic freedom, but this was an embarrassment." This made it possible to represent the AAAS as admitting that some ideas were more "embarrassing" than others, regardless of their scientific validity, and the stage was now set for a real witch-hunt. Reporting this in an article subtitled "RACE SUPERIORITY PURE HOKUM, SCIENTISTS SAY" without producing any justification for its choice of words, the *Star* followed this report with another article by Paula Adamick, printed on the same page and described as "Special to the *Star,*" as though it were some kind of scoop. All that Adamick's article contained was a report that an unnamed student had called in to a radio talk show and argued that Rushton should not be allowed to teach, while a second student had condemned Rushton on the grounds that such views would be used to support apartheid in South Africa. These important opinions were reported under the headline, again printed in very bold, large black type, "PROFESSOR PUSHING HATRED, CALLER SAYS."

By February 3, the *London Free Press* was able to come out with no less than three news articles on Rushton. The first was headed "RACE ISSUE: ALLIANCE DEMANDS 'FULL FORCE OF LAW': ONTARIO'S ATTORNEY-GENERAL HAS BEEN ASKED TO SILENCE PHILIPPE RUSHTON AND HIS RACE THEORY." Apparently a new group with seventeen members had been formed by the Mayor of London. It was comprised of people of "various ethnic backgrounds" and "multicultural groups" who, as another headline proclaimed, had decided to make "PROFESSOR'S THEORY COMMITTEE'S FIRST ISSUE." One member, lawyer Joseph Sommerfreund, said that Rushton's paper "doesn't help us," adding that in fact "it makes our work more difficult," while another member, Kizito Serumaga, a native of Uganda, said he was not going to get up and scream, but that Rushton should be silenced and that, "we are going to do this the civilized way." At the same time, the "Alliance," whose alleged purpose was to "lessen tensions" and foster "trust and respect" for the city's "visible minorities and other groups" immediately

arranged a luncheon get-together with another "newly-formed" group calling itself the "Academic Coalition for Equality." The *London Free Press* did not mention how many members this group registered. They decided to "invite" university officials to explain "how Rushton was allowed (sic) to research a theory that blacks are inferior in intelligence to orientals and whites." Thus the fate of scholarship and free thought in the brave new world of multi-racial societies seems to be the dungeon.

The Alliance based its efforts to "prevent Rushton, a psychology professor, from teaching his theory" on a 1986 policy statement by Ontario Premier David Peterson and Ontario Attorney General Ian Scott to the effect that "Racism in any form isn't tolerated in Ontario. All doctrines and practices of racial superiority are scientifically false" and are "contrary to the policies of this government." Thus freedom of speech had been outlawed by the ruling political party, and Rushton was to be submitted to extreme psychological pressure if no other penalty could be applied. Dismissal and destitution were preferred punishments, perhaps even jail, but if none of these could be applied, then at least extreme psychological duress amounting to mental torture was appropriate.

Consequently, held by the media and pressure groups to his undertaking, Premier David Peterson acted, and the *Toronto Star* on the same day (February 3, 1989) was able to publish a real piece of news under the headline: "FIRE 'OFFENSIVE' PROFESSOR OUTRAGED PREMIER ARGUES." Premier David Peterson of Ontario had publicly announced that he had phoned the president of the University of Western Ontario to ask for Rushton's dismissal. "I would fire him if I could," Peterson was reported as saying. Here was a development well calculated to deter other professors from pursuing Rushton's line of research, and certainly from expressing support for his conclusions.

Only the Toronto *Globe and Mail* advocated moderation, under the headline "DON'T SHOOT THE MESSENGER." On February 7, *Globe* reporter Thomas Walkom drew a parallel with the historic 1941 case of Leftist academic Frank Underhill, whom an Ontario premier had demanded should be fired for describing World War I as a bloody error and advocating that the United States not be conned into entering World War II. Underhill had not been fired, Walkom pointed out, and Rushton should not be fired. "Academic freedom might be relative (and have political implications)," he

warned, "but it is better than the alternative."

The *Star* did admit that professor John Starkey, president of the Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations, had told reporters that Rushton had a right to conduct his research. But no matter, the hunt for accusatory statements continued. No stone was left unturned in the media's drive to pursue the "Rushton affair." These were still only the opening shots in what was to develop into a long and extensive campaign to harass Rushton and to deter other Canadian scholars from emulating his example. Over the next two months the campaign steadily gained in vituperative content, characterized by mounting psychological pressure.

At this point, broadcaster David Suzuki, a Canadian of Japanese ancestry who held credentials as a geneticist, challenged Rushton to a debate, an invitation which Rushton accepted, believing that a public debate would serve to disabuse the public, misled as the latter was by inaccurate media reporting up to that time. However, the debate proved to be no unbiased academic forum. According to press reports, Rushton arrived at the debating hall to find it packed by some 2,000 anti-Rushton demonstrators. Reporter Dan Smith covered this event in the February 9 issue of *The Toronto Star* under the headline: "'I'M NOT A RACIST,' PROFESSOR TELLS JEERING CROWD." Again, this report was given front page treatment, and was accompanied (also on the front page) by two further news items. Reporter Tom Kerr announced that the mayor of Toronto had warned that "racism has us at a crossroads," while reporter Leslie Papp presented a moving front page story, immediately under the Rushton item, about a black Toronto policewoman who alleged that a white sergeant had called her a "chimney-sweep" and that she would swear to this "on a stack of bibles." World events were relegated to back pages.

Reporter Dan Smith's article about the Rushton-Suzuki debate was continued on an inner page under the heading: "'I AM NOT A RACIST,' PROFESSOR SAYS BUT SUZUKI DEMANDS HE LOSE HIS JOB." Smith reported that what he chose to call "enterprising" students "didn't have enough notice to actually print T-shirts for the event, but handed out order forms for the $12.00 'Rid of Rushton' version," while protestors, many bused from far-distant locations, chanted and jeered. The accompanying photographs told more than the reporter's written account disclosed – showing a multi-racial crowd with clenched fists waving signs bearing the slogans

"BAN ACADEMIC RACISM" and "RACISM KILLS."

The *Toronto Sun* on February 9 printed a story by Elaine Moyle under the prominent headline "RACIAL THEORY 'MONSTROUS'," about Suzuki's attempted rebuttal of Rushton's views:

> "This isn't science," thundered Suzuki, a London, Ont. native. "His grants should be revoked and his position terminated at this university."
>
> Suzuki, host of the CBC television program 'The Nature of Things,' called Rushton either grossly ignorant or deliberately mischievous.

British-born Rushton, by contrast, made no insulting comments about-Japanese descended Suzuki, doubtless disappointing those who called him a "racist."

The same day, David Helwig, reporting for *The Globe and Mail*, gave a somewhat opposing report. He told readers that the bulk of the audience had listened with respect to Rushton's remarks, hushing those who had gone to the meeting to jeer and heckle. This contrasted with the treatment earlier extended to Professor Arthur Jensen in America, when activists had banged tables and yelled "racists have no right to speak," and also gave the lie to the *Star's* report that Rushton had been universally rejected. True, Helwig admitted, around one hundred protestors belonging to the newly-formed Academic Coalition for Equality did demonstrate persistently outside the hall, protesting that even to allow Professor Rushton a platform was to give credibility to what he had to say, and activists were described as selling T-shirts portraying a confident-looking David Suzuki facing a sweating Philippe Rushton – the opposite of the actual scene at the debate. The fact was, as David Helwig reported, that while Suzuki made "an impassioned speech" criticizing the university for not producing anyone to debate Professor Rushton's views, Rushton quietly surveyed the "numerous arguments from his paper" and was able to truthfully accuse Suzuki of exhibiting "little more than moral outrage" while avoiding any scholarly answer to his own 60 measured statements. Helwig noted that Rushton had authored five books and more than 100 articles published in scholarly journals. The consensus of those serious scholars who attended the "debate" was that Suzuki weakened his position by avoiding rational argumentation based on fact and resorting to blind emotion.

However, on February 11 the *Globe and Mail* opened its pages to David Suzuki, providing him with a further opportunity to denigrate Rushton. Although offering no solid arguments, Suzuki's piece was entitled "DEFENSE OF RUSHTON 'RIGHT' IS PROPPING UP FAULTY WORK." Suzuki alleged that "in protecting Dr. Rushton under the rubric of academic freedom, academics legitimate his work and reinforce racist ideas supported by his claims. This is a terrible abrogation of responsibility ..." Reading such words, one wonders how unbiased David Suzuki's own broadcasts in his series "The Nature of Things" might be.

The pressure on academic free speech was steadily increasing, but the issue was not simply academic. Rushton's research had carried him into an area of direct economic and political significance: his findings had uncovered flaws in the established version of environmentalist social science testimony on which massive government programs had been built in both Canada and the U.S.A. These not only provided for a massive redistribution of wealth and for a network of compensatory educational schemes and reverse discrimination in employment, but had provided a vested interest for millions of beneficiaries. His findings also threatened the well-being of organizations that had been built on the surplus funds which could be culled from supervising this redistribution of wealth, and also had potentially adverse implications for the immigration "industry." Little did Rushton realize that his seemingly innocent research would stir up such a tempest. Those on the Left knew the crucial importance of the data he was studying, and of the need to keep the public from accepting his opinions – as well as of preventing other scholars from daring to speak their minds on the issues involved.

One must appreciate the extent to which macro-politics, little understood by the general public which was not supposed to think beyond what the media printed, were affecting Rushton's situation. While the *Star* was highlighting the "Rushton affair" and doing everything possible to keep it before the public, exhibiting his head on a pike, as it were, it was also reporting on the complaint laid by immigrant Azuguzagolo-da Adebelabambuhbah against the Canadian police before Canada's Race Relations and Policing Task Force. Representing a group called the Jamaican International Growth Institute, one of many organizations among Canada's rapidly growing immigrant population, Adebelabambuhbah had charged that the Canadian police were racist and as such were

deliberately spreading drugs among the black community under the guise of a drug "entrapment" program. The implication was that the police, motivated by racialism, were using the pretext of fighting drugs not only to harass black immigrants but to undermine the black population by making it dependent upon drugs.

From this point the attack began to widen. Stephen Strauss, writing in the *Globe and Mail* on February 11 under the title "THE STUDY OF EUGENICS: SCIENCE OR RACISM?", seems to have had assistance from professional neo-Lysenkoist opponents of eugenics of the kind we have already discussed. Strauss's article was published under an artist's illustration which purported to represent three racial types (white, black and yellow), but misrepresented their facial features so as to make all three seem physiologically similar. His article constituted a brief summary of "Darwinian eugenic racists" – ranging from the French Count de Gobineau to Sir Francis Galton – an account of pre-World War II sterilization laws in Europe and America, and, of course, Nazi storm troopers. In short, Rushton was portrayed as the heir to a long tradition of German "death camps and their efforts to eliminate allegedly genetically inferior Jews, gypsies and homosexuals ..."

But what really placed Professor Rushton in difficulty was his decision not to flinch from what he regarded as his duty to face the public with the truth. He accepted an invitation, one might say a challenge, to participate on the New York based *Geraldo Rivera* talk show, widely known for its sensationalist approach to "beyond the pale" subjects. In doing this, Rushton was inviting disaster, since the scales were surely going to be weighted against him. It is fair to suspect that he was invited only to be portrayed as a monster, and subsequent media reports openly admitted that he faced a hostile audience, suitably filled with troublemakers, and a panel which was 100 percent opposed to him. One concession was made, and that was the inclusion by satellite transmission of Professor Shockley as a speaker in support of Rushton. But the satellite transmission lost its sound track, so that Shockley became just a voiceless and impotent face on the screen.

Prominent among Rushton's critics on *Geraldo* was the non-academic black activist Charles King, founder of the organization known as the Urban Crisis Center in Atlanta – a powerful and consistent advocate of privileges for minorities. His tactic was to appeal to the sympathy of the viewers, and to portray Rushton as a self-seeking bigot. Not perhaps so effective, but somewhat more

scholarly, was Asian John Young, professor of Asian studies at Seton Hall University, who made the valid but rather irrelevant point that not all the Mongoloid peoples of Asia were genetically identical (and hence, by implication, not genetically "equal"). This comment if anything supported rather than contradicted Rushton's thesis that races differed in their genetic heritage. He was, in fact, merely raising the old red-herring of charging that theories of race depended upon being able to classify all the population of the world into three primary races, all the members of which must then be regarded as virtually identical – which of course is a gross oversimplification and misrepresentation of biological reality, to which no geneticist or anthropologist could ever subscribe, since this would be tantamount to saying that an Indian or Iranian must be identical to an Englishman because both have been classified as "Caucasoid."

More dangerous, perhaps, not because of what they could say about Rushton's academic data, but because of their ongoing dedication to attacking "scientific racism," were the contributions of those two stalwart authorities on "institutional racism," Barry Mehler of Ferris State University in Michigan, and his former mentor, Jerry Hirsch of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, both veterans of numerous attacks on Jensen and Shockley. Before millions of viewers, Mehler alleged that "there are considerable similarities between Dr. Rushton's theories and those of the Nazis," a statement intended to convey that Rushton's conclusions were not only *ipso facto* faulty, but that they were also evil.

Throughout the *Geraldo* show, Rushton maintained a scholarly self-control, providing his interlocutors with sane, rational and balanced answers easily comprehensible to the viewers. By contrast, many of his tormentors either lost their tempers or pretended to do so, and opponent Jerry Hirsch indicated after the show that he was bitterly disappointed. He had welcomed the *Geraldo* show in the hope that this would destroy Rushton's image, but to the general viewing public it was Rushton who came over as the man of intellect. Although the mixed-race audience howled and applauded when Michael Francis, a black civic politician from Harlem, told Rivera "I apologize to our neighbors up north for acid rain – because it has obviously affected this man's drinking water," Rushton retained his self-control and dignified demeanor. In the face of this, professional anti-racist historian Barry Mehler – represented as an "authority" on race by virtue of teaching a

course on "institutional racism" – was obliged to resort to the old "Nazi" smear-technique, commonly used by Marxists and their fellow travellers. As he afterwards told Dan Smith, a *Star* reporter, "the Canadian's disarmingly acceptable image represented a very real danger." Strong words such as "Nazi-like" were therefore seemingly necessary to counterbalance the actual image projected by Rushton.

But it was all good news material for the *Toronto Star*, which reported the affair on February 17 under a bold, three line heading "ACID RAIN AFFECTED RUSHTON'S BRAIN, MAN SAYS AT TAPING." The Rivera "circus" (as Jerry Hirsch described it) gave the anti-Rushton campaign in the media a new lease on life, entitling the assigned reporters to put phone calls through to yet more scholars in the hope of obtaining quotes which could form the basis for yet more stories.

Reverting to the campaign to get Rushton fired, journalist Salem Alaton wrote a *Globe and Mail* piece, published on February 17, which reminded readers that "Ontario Premier David Peterson and various groups and individuals at Western and elsewhere have asked that Prof. Rushton be fired." Similarly, Paula Adamick returned to the fray with another blast in the *Toronto Star* dated February 20, under the heading "RACIAL THEORY BLASTED: RUSHTON'S CREDIBILITY ATTACKED BY PROFESSORS." The names she mentioned to justify this headline included those of Greg Moran, chairman of Rushton's psychology department, and Emoke Szathmary, dean of social sciences at Western and "Rushton's boss."

When a professor's chairman and dean are obliged by reporters to go public in the media, a scholar is clearly under academic pressure, regardless of the principles of tenure and academic freedom. But analysis of what dean Szathmary and chairman Moran really said to the reporters may suggest a different picture, one in which the reporters appear to be goading the dean and chairman in their efforts to harass Rushton, to destroy his popularity among his colleagues, and to force conversations from which they could extract quotes which seemed to condemn their victim. In any case, Dean Szathmary did say that Rushton's research had been heavily criticized and that his scientific credibility was low. Rushton's chairman, Greg Moran, said that the department had warned Rushton against appearing on the *Geraldo* show.

Yet on March 8, 1989, nearly two months after the AAAS

meeting, finding that the university was still determined to defend Rushton's rights, the *Globe and Mail* published another special report under the title "WESTERN CRITICIZED FOR POLICY ON RUSHTON." This began with a solemn declaration that "The academic reputation of the University of Western Ontario is foundering because it refuses to take action against Professor Philippe Rushton, a lawyer for B'nai B'rith said yesterday." Mr. Matas, senior counsel for the B'nai B'rith's League for Human Rights and a specialist in immigration law who seemingly makes his living by helping would-be immigrants to Canada find their way around legal barriers, had declared that just as one would not expect to find a witchdoctor on a faculty of medicine, so "one should not have a racist teaching genetics and psychology."

While maintaining that he did not "oppose academic freedom," visiting speaker Mr. Matas "contrasted Western's behavior with that of Carleton University, which this week withdrew a speaking invitation to revisionist historian David Irving after learning that he denies the Holocaust ever occurred." Clearly, if Carleton could refuse to allow a widely-published historian such as David Irving to be heard because he questioned established opinion regarding the historicity of the Holocaust, why should not Western override tenure and dismiss Rushton when his research threw doubt on the theory of genetic "equality"? Lawyer Matas had no two views about it: "Students should be asking the university to dismiss Rushton."

But reporter David Helwig of the *Star* felt obligated to allow a little truth to glimmer from behind the barrage of adverse publicity that had accumulated like a wall around the "Rushton affair." Despite the prominence given to his account of Mr. Matas's address to "the students of Western," Helwig mildly noted in the final paragraph of his story that "If attendance at yesterday's lecture (by Matas) is any indication, interest in the Rushton controversy is rapidly declining. *Only five students and two reporters showed up.*" [Our italics]

Unfortunately the level of professional responsibility of the reporters for the local London, Ontario, newspaper (*The London Free Press*) was not so commendable. Their reports, which pushed the attack on Rushton on a virtually daily basis, gave far more prominence to what Matas had said, and rather than admit the absurdly small number of students to whom he was speaking, they deliberately contrived to give their readers the impression that Matas was addressing a large and sympathetic audience which

shared his horrendous views on the limits to free speech and academic freedom.

With this rapidly declining level of student and university interest, and with the university faculty and administration still refusing to take action against Rushton, the *Toronto Star* decided to take matters into its own hands. In its lead editorial on March 9, libelously headed "A WEAK REACTION TO ACADEMIC FRAUD," the editor of the *Star* charged that "The University of Western Ontario has stuck its head in the sand in dealing with the racist theories of psychology professor Philippe Rushton." Referring to what it described as "Rushton's discredited research," the editorial charged that the university senate was wrong in having "upheld academic freedom" in Rushton's case, and that "This protection of a charlatan on grounds of academic freedom is preposterous."

Although Rushton is a full professor, a Guggenheim Fellow, and the author of no less than five books and more than a hundred scholarly papers published in a wide range of academic journals of repute, the *Star* misquoted Reynold Gold, a professor of genetics, to the effect that Rushton must be wrong because: "what is superior and what is not are subjective value judgments inaccessible to scientific investigation."

This was doubly misleading, because of course what the *Star* claimed Rushton had said he never had said, and Gold had actually written a piece for the *Globe and Mail* saying that genes may well underlie racial group differences in intelligence, and in fact was supportive of Rushton. Rushton dealt with solid statistical facts regarding performance, not with subjective judgments. Only his critics had introduced the concept of subjectivity. Yet on the authority of this one meaningless quotation, cited out of context from the writings of a scholar who supported Rushton, the editors of the *Star* chose to libel Rushton by calling him a charlatan, even going so far as to allege that "without exception, the academic community has found his conclusion has no scientific basis."

One can only affirm, without fear of contradiction, that the *Star* was itself guilty of gross inaccuracy amounting to outright falsehood. Would so many refereed scholarly journals have published Rushton's work on genetic differences if "without exception the academic community" rejected it?

Clearly the decision of the editors of the *Star* to run such an abusive editorial involved a conscious political decision. Rushton consulted his lawyers, only to be advised that a lawsuit against the

Star would cost something in the region of a quarter of a million dollars, while the *Star* was protected by libel insurance. Furthermore a lawsuit would take two to three years to obtain a decision, and meantime would tie Rushton up in legal proceedings, while probably assisting the *Star* to achieve yet wider circulation as it positioned itself as a champion of the ideals of democracy and equality in opposition to Rushton's "Nazi-like racism." Clearly, too, the University had been loyal to Rushton, but its administration would not appreciate the continued adverse publicity which would result from a lawsuit against the *Toronto Star*, for the media would be in the driver's seat as far as determining how the case was presented to the public.

The *Toronto Star* also engaged John Stanford, a psychology teacher at Trent University, to write an op-ed piece which was published under the title: "THE RUSHTON DEBACLE, JUST WHAT'S THE POINT OF RACE RESEARCH?"

There was little wrong with Stanford's article, and indeed there was nothing in it to justify the title that the *Star* chose to print it under. Stanford's article gave no indication of any "debacle," merely pointing out something that Rushton, and for that matter Jensen, Eysenck, Herrnstein, Shockley and all others who deal seriously with the subject, themselves emphasize. Statistics relating to the average scores achieved by groups do not make it possible to predict what any individual's score will be. Nobody has claimed that it does.

But the question whether race research has "any point to it," as posed by the *Star*'s choice of headline, can be clearly answered in the affirmative in view of contemporary legislative and judicial decisions which shape society. Indeed, the answer may be one of the keys to understanding media activism, according to Snyderman and Rothman in their perceptive book, *The IQ Controversy: The Media and Public Policy* (Transaction Books, 1988). For example, a sizeable proportion of U.S. national resources is spent in race-related compensatory educational programs such as "head start" and the busing of children to schools out of their own district to ensure an arbitrarily determined 'racial mix.' Affirmative action, employment and promotion all now tend to be linked to racial quotas on the hypothesis that social prejudice and environmental conditions, not heredity, are responsible for differences in IQ. A gigantic monolith of legislation has been built on the sweeping environmental theories fashioned by social scientists some thirty to

forty years ago which have become the justification for a massive redistribution of resources daily, monthly and annually on the basis of race. Also massive non-white immigration into the U.S. and Canada has built its own political power base. With the American economy now distorted to comply with these requirements, a vast number of voters have come to acquire a vested interest, not to mention the entrepreneurs and middlemen who also benefit from lucrative niches they have managed to build into the system, in suppressing further research into the question of race differences.

Still doggedly pursuing Rushton, some two months after the *Star* first took up the Rushton incident and built it into a cause célèbre, on March 30 the *Star* once again chose to publish Rushton's picture under a bold, black one-inch headline proclaiming that "RUSHTON'S RESEARCH SHOULD BE STOPPED, COLLEAGUE TELLS GROUP." Reporter Paula Adamick, either because she could find nothing new to write about, or because she was herself caught up in the Rushton affair, or because she was simply following orders, wearily endeavored to breath life into the corpse. It seemed as though the world had very little other news worth reporting.

This time, it seemed, the news was that a faculty member at Western had addressed a meeting stating that "The University of Western Ontario *may* [our italics] be breaking ethical guidelines by not ordering Philippe Rushton's research to be stopped immediately." Then followed a 24-inch two column rehash of the affair, including a comment by a philosophy professor that Rushton may have "abused his privilege as a university researcher because he 'exceeded the bounds' of expected behavior by going on television shows" – a totally new idea, which few scholars who regularly appear on television seem to have heard about. Certainly David Suzuki, who had opposed Rushton, seemed not to have any moral doubts about his right to engage regularly in TV broadcasting. However, since only about fifteen faculty members troubled to be present at the meeting the *Star* had decided to send its reporter to cover, it seems that the *Star* was deliberately continuing a campaign to embarrass both Rushton and the University of Western Ontario. One can only conclude that Western's reputation was substantially enhanced among true academics for defending academic freedom so resolutely, despite the persistent onslaught of the Canadian media, who did their best to denigrate it and destroy its reputation.

On March 26, 1989, Easter Sunday, the *Toronto Star* published

yet another editorial attacking Rushton, this time appealing to fringe emotions in the community. Abandoning any pretence of academic argumentation, the editorial resorted to portraying Rushton as the Anti-Christ – "the antithesis of Christ's teaching." Pressures on campus were also maintained by the staging of an anti-apartheid sit-in, which simultaneously protested "racism on the campus."

Now feeling it to be necessary, Rushton began legal action against the *Star*. He hired a prestigious law firm and issued notices under the *Libel and Slander Act* against the newspaper. This brought the media campaign against him to a halt. Prevented by the high cost from continuing the action, Professor Rushton finally resorted to a protest to the Ontario Press Council, supported by numerous letters from respected academic figures. This resulted in a weak response which failed to condemn the powerful *Star* outright.

Let us remember that until political activists targeted Rushton for attack, Rushton had been one of the University of Western Ontario's prize scholars. The university had awarded him a rare two year research period because of the esteem in which his prolific scholarship was held, he had been consistently in the top one percent of the entire social science faculty for publications in peer-reviewed scientific journals, and he had consistently garnered top marks of fours and fives (out of five) on formal evaluations by his peers for both teaching and research. He was also rated by students as an excellent teacher in all respects, and there had been not a single complaint of any kind against him in the 12 years he had been teaching at Western.

The danger to freedom of ideas is apparent in the statement of David Suzuki, a Leftist scholar to whom the Canadian Broadcasting Company had allocated a regular program. Suzuki showed himself to be unworthy of the privilege of having his own show on the air, when he stated that: "In a society in which racism is rampant it is not sufficient for a scientist to say 'I am giving you the truth'." In other words, since Suzuki judges race research to be bad, and considers that it encourages "racism" in the formerly white country which had given him citizenship, is it possible that the truth should not be defense in itself from all charges? Indeed, what sort of society is it that can permit people to say that the truth can be harmful, and therefore should be suppressed?

In the meantime the struggle continued. Over one year later,

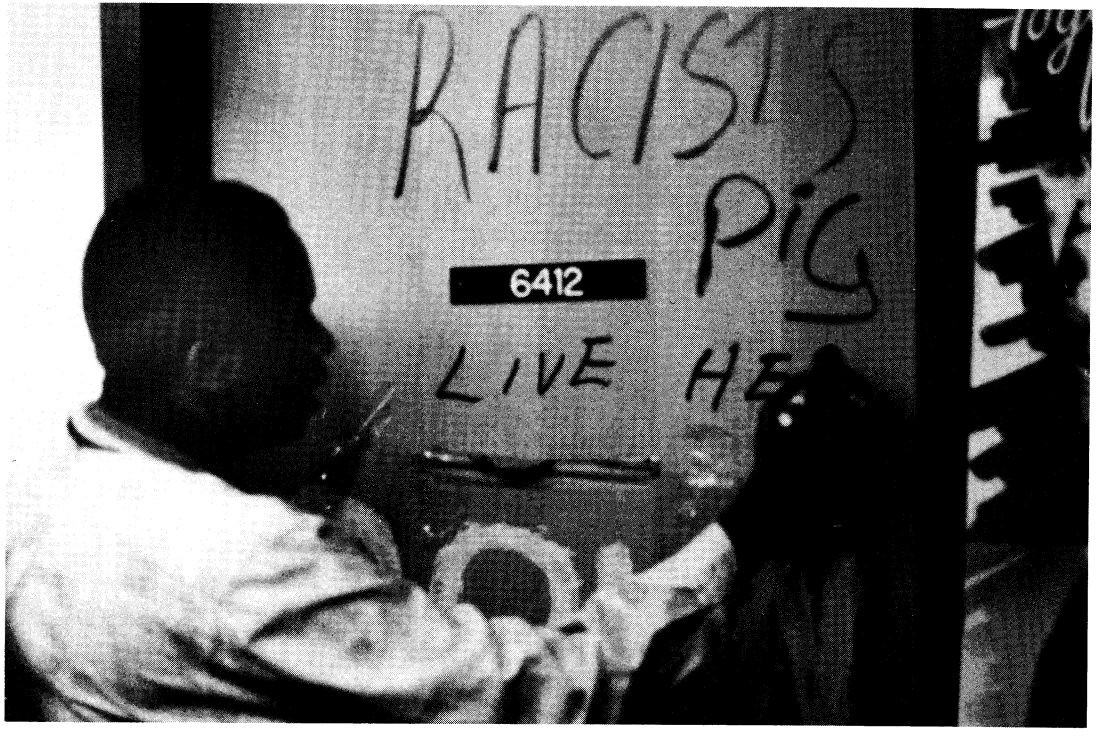
the Academic Coalition for Equality headed by Caribbean student Geraldine Stephenson and Ugandan Kizito Serumaga organized a protest at the University of Western Ontario on March 21, 1990. Students and other demonstrators were bused in from the nearby Universities of Guelph, Windsor, York and Toronto. Two well-known black civil rights activists from Toronto addressed the noon-time rally. Dudley Laws said "Rushton must be removed not only from this institution but from any institution in which he wants to teach." Laws cited the shootings of blacks by Canadian policemen over the last decade and said "We must accept that (our police) are not much different from the police in South Africa. I implore you to continue the struggle that Nelson Mandela has been undertaking for the last 27 years. Destroy (racism) once and for all."

Charles Roach, a civil rights lawyer from Toronto, said "You're going to have to get this man off your campus, because he has become the most famous professor from Canada, and given Western a bad name." He condemned Western's administration for giving "Rushton a platform to spew his racist bile." He said, "The most virulent kind of racism is academic racism because this justifies all other kinds of racism. This leads to genocide. [Rushton] is a criminal against humanity."

Following the speeches, many of the demonstrators occupied the psychology department, storming through academic offices, scrawling swastikas along the hallways, stomping their feet on the floors, thumping their fists on doors and walls, kicking several holes in walls, and bellowing slogans through bull horns including "Hey, Western, have you heard! This is not Johannesburg" and "Rushton. Out! Out! Out!" They left a message, scrawled in thick black ink on Rushton's office door "*Racists pig live here*" [sic]. All work in the psychology department was brought to a halt and many secretaries and other occupants were "terrified."

"This is to give the administration the flavor of what's to come" when Rushton returns to the classroom in September, said Serumaga. Rushton "has no right to be on this campus. We shall remove him." Coalition president Geraldine Stephenson said the protest, one of the biggest and loudest at the campus for years, was a "warning" of what lies ahead. "We will not back down. If Rushton returns to the classroom, then we'll be out in full force."

"There's going to be no peace until Rushton is fired," the activist students warned. They admitted that they wanted to silence him because some of the students were listening to his opinions:



Activist scrawls slogan on the door of Philippe Rushton's office at the University of Western Ontario

"unfortunately he's passing it on to our students and it's got to stop." But the demonstration was not made up only of students – it was ominously supported by the London and District Labor Council, a strictly political organization whose members would be unlikely to even understand the evolutionary concepts behind Rushton's articles or those of the many academic authorities whose works he quotes. Members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers and staff of the "Cross Cultural Learner Center" were also expected to go. *The London Free Press* (October 12, 1990) gave free publicity concerning the time and place for those wishing to attend the demonstration.

The Ontario Provincial Police Investigation

In Canada, thought control has advanced far more dangerously than in the United States, where free speech is still reasonably protected. This reflects the steady growth of immigrant power since the beginning of the present century. Acting under laws which restrict freedom of speech on matters of race in Canada, in March 1989 the Attorney-General of the Province of Ontario, the prime center of non-white immigration into Canada, ordered a police investigation of Rushton. A combined Ontario Provincial Police and Metropolitan Toronto Police special force concerned with "Pornography and Hate Literature" set out to interview Rushton, along with the President of the University of Western Ontario, Dean of Social Science Emöke Szathmary, and selected scholars at various universities. The investigation sought to determine whether Professor Rushton's writings had violated the federal criminal code of Canada, chapter C-46, 319, paragraph 2, which reads in its relevant part: "Everyone who, by communicating statements, other than private conversation, willfully promotes hatred against any identifiable group is guilty of (a) an indictable offense and is liable to *imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years*" [emphasis added].

Rushton's lawyers advised him to decline a personal interview with the police and to consent, instead, to answering written questions submitted through them. After a 6-month investigation and a detailed examination of his evidence, originality, qualifications, methods, and so forth, the provincial police – forced to assume a role normally reserved for experienced scholars and without a doubt under political pressure themselves – informed Rushton that, "it is the overwhelming opinion of academics

questioned that in many cases your conclusions... have been drawn on misinterpreted and/or questionable source data. This has resulted in your presentation to the AAAS falling noticeably short of expected professional standards."

In sum, the provincial police officially assessed the question of whether Rushton might be subject to two years in prison for such actions as using "questionable source data" and then very graciously held that, while incompetent, his work did not constitute a federal offense. In November 1989, the Attorney-General of Ontario gave a press conference to announce these results, and declared that Rushton's theories were "loony but not criminal."

Rushton was able to relax after months of terrible tension, but a solemn warning had been issued to other scholars throughout Canada: to speak freely on the subject of racial differences was to risk imprisonment. Truth alone was no defense from persecution by prosecution, and academic freedom had no status when challenged by political bias.

Intimidation by University Authorities

Under pressure from the adverse attitude of the media, the administration at the University of Western Ontario backed off from a confrontation with organized Marxist demonstrators – unlike the administration at Berkeley which had supported Professor Jensen throughout. Moreover, a number of members of the faculty seem to be antagonistic to Rushton's right to pursue research and to meet students in class.

On February 9, 1989, only three weeks after the AAAS presentation, Dean of Social Science Emöke Szathmary spearheaded an attack on Rushton in the *Western News*, the official paper of the University. In a letter highly critical of Rushton's work, she wrote: "What evidence is there for this ranked ordering of the evolution of the human races? None." Claiming that these views represented her academic opinion, she strongly sought to emphasize that she was *not* speaking in any administrative capacity. Her letter was nonetheless widely interpreted in the media as a refutation of Rushton by his "boss."

With the appearance of Szathmary's letter, the academic debate at Western caught fire and for several months the letters pages of *Western News* were filled with the criticisms and comments of various members of the academic community and the replies of Rushton and his defenders. Szathmary continued to make clear

her opinion of Rushton's work. In an interview with the *London Free Press* that appeared on February 18, 1989, she stated: "There is a lot of criticism about this theory. That's where I think the media have not done the community any service because they are not pointing out all the attacks at really fundamental levels on Rushton's work within the scientific community."

In July 1989 Rushton received a shock. The Guggenheim Scholar was given an "Unsatisfactory" rating on his annual performance evaluation and deprived of a usually *pro forma* pay increase. This was a severe judgment for, as stated by the President in one of his press interviews, a professor judged unsatisfactory three years in a row could be dismissed.

Naturally Rushton appealed this assessment to the Dean's office. But first he asked that the Dean excuse herself from hearing his case on the ground that she had already declared publicly that he had no scientific credibility left and had passed very harsh judgments on the quality of his work. The Dean refused to recuse herself. Rushton had no choice but to appear before her and present his case. Not surprisingly, the Dean decided against Rushton and upheld the Department Chair's decision. Rushton then had to go through a formal university grievance procedure taking up a great deal of his time and energy. He argued that during the 3 years for which he was evaluated he had produced 2 books and nearly 30 published articles, a rate of productivity higher than anybody else in his department. It was during this period that he had also been awarded the Guggenheim. Fortunately for him he won his appeal, and his department's judgment and that of Dean Szathmary were overturned.

In September 1990, Rushton returned to teaching after a year's sabbatical. In fact because of the Guggenheim Fellowship and a previous research award, Rushton had not been in the classroom for three years. Now Kizito Serumaga, the Ugandan leader of the newly-formed Academic Coalition for Equality, threatened to "enter" any classroom in which "Rushton has been allowed to lecture in the flesh," with the obvious intention of disrupting Rushton's classes. The Dean decided, against Rushton's objections, that Rushton would not be allowed to teach his classes in person. Instead he was instructed to videotape his undergraduate lectures. Copies of the tapes were to be perused by students enrolled in his courses in a private room, absent the professor. Any questions the students might have were to be called in by phone,

although visits to his study by individuals were to be permitted.

Rushton formally appealed these ludicrous restrictions in another university grievance procedure which again consumed his energies. On October 5 the faculty grievance committee found in favor of Rushton and ruled that the absurd requirement that he teach by videotape be dropped. Dean Szathmary appealed this decision to the university senate but by this time there was such an outpouring of support for Rushton from other faculty members, graduate students, and undergraduates (an Academic Freedom Club was organized by one undergraduate to oppose some of the idiocies that were taking place on campus) that the Department decided to return him to the classroom without waiting for the outcome of the appeal.

This enraged second year student activist Serumaga, who was not even a psychology major. He declared that the university administration was "shielding Rushton from their protests" and therefore "automatically the university administration is the next target." He was subsequently arrested for disrupting a public meeting at which the chancellor was speaking, but even then no charges were pressed against him or disciplinary action taken by the university.

At the beginning of January 1991, Rushton re-entered the classroom amid much media coverage and protest from radical students. During the first six weeks, Rushton's classes were disrupted three times by protestors and he was forced to cancel his lecture. On a different occasion he was physically assaulted by protesting students, and was admitted to a hospital suffering from chest pains. The administration has issued several warnings that it would file trespass charges against disrupters, although up to the time of writing (April 2, 1991) this has not been done. On February 8, the African Students Society organized an afternoon discussion "What's wrong with race research?" with a plethora of well-known "anti-racist" intellectuals including Garland Allen and Barry Mehler coming in from the United States.

However, the student-based Academic Freedom Club sponsored a defense of Rushton on February 4, 1991, featuring Barry Gross of the National Association of Scholars who had authored a scholarly paper defending Rushton (Gross, 1990, mentioned above). Dr. Gross presented a stirring defense of academic freedom, stating that universities are a unique and special "world of intellect" in which academic freedom plays a crucial role and

that "academic freedom means nothing if the university is not willing to defend it under the most unpopular circumstances."

Gross told the audience he doesn't believe Rushton is a racist, pointing out that "He said what he thought was true and even if it turns out to be false later, he still has the right to say it." But with the pressure of the media and student Marxist organizations still upon him, Western President George Pedersen said later in an interview with *The London Free Press* (February 5, 1991) that he had declined an invitation to join Gross on the podium because "I am not prepared to appear on a panel with someone that poorly informed... Western has defended the principle of academic freedom all along."

The president followed this with a letter to the *Western News* (February 7, 1991) attacking Barry Gross as a "partisan of Professor Rushton" and referring to Rushton's television appearances on *Geraldo* and *Donohue* as "inappropriate" and "self-engineered." Pedersen also defended the administration at Western, including the actions of Emöke Szathmary, the Dean of Social Science, and Greg Moran, Chairman of Psychology: "They are people dedicated to the ideals of fairness and due process... I deeply resent the aspersions cast on their personal and professional integrity by Dr. Gross' article."

Two weeks later, on February 21, 1991, the *Western News* carried a blistering reply from Barry Gross. It began: "It is no crime to write a foolish letter. Dr. K.G. Pedersen walks the streets today a free man. Unfortunately, he now finds himself in the posture of a constable whose reputation for justice has been rescued by a posse of citizens whose prompt action snatched the railroaded man from the scaffold as the trap dropped. Such a man would be wise not to draw attention to judicial procedures in his jurisdiction. That Professor Rushton is today in less danger of having his tenure abrogated and is back live in the classroom is due very largely to his own efforts and those of the scholars and scientists who stood by the principles of academic freedom. One would not wish to dwell upon his prospects had this groundswell not arisen." There followed an argument that Rushton's academic freedom had been abridged by the university because Rushton clearly had been "judged by a separate standard."

Meanwhile on February 13, 1991, Rushton's class was again disrupted by demonstrators. Rushton complained to the newspapers: "The whole purpose of what a university is for is being

deliberately threatened by people who just don't want certain ideas to be discussed." Letters once again flooded into both the *Western News* and the student newspaper, *The Gazette*. One letter, from a Mr. George A. Reilly, written from outside the university community, spiritedly defended the decision made by the administration to force Rushton to teach by videotape as "prudent." He consigned "Rushton and his theories to "the oblivion they so richly deserve." This turned into a minor scandal when it was revealed that George Reilly was Dean Emöke Szathmary's husband! Barry Gross wrote "Both Reilly and the Dean, his wife, had a duty in honesty to disclose that he was not a disinterested spectator to the events he analyzes."

On March 12, 1991 the African Students' Association invited Stokely Carmichael – the former Black Panther radical of the '60s, now known as Kwame Ture – to the campus where he denounced Western as "a racist campus, with racist professors, endowed by racists." Ture was still stalking the trail of revolution and lashed out at Zionism and capitalism, as well as racism. Ture's denunciation of Zionism brought angry responses from members of the Jewish Students' Union, who handed out pamphlets headed: "Rushton is a racist. Ture is a racist."

On March 21, 1991 student protestors from Western and four other Ontario universities were forcibly removed from the Province of Ontario legislative building in Toronto after halting proceedings there. The group demanded that Rushton should be fired and government funding to the university stopped. They stood in the Visitor's Gallery and yelled their demands at the government shortly after all three political parties had recognized International Day for the Elimination of Racism. Some New Democrat (Socialist) MPPs (Members of the Provincial Parliament), including one cabinet minister, applauded the demonstrators. Later, the recently elected New Democrat Premier, Bob Rae, said he doesn't have the power to fire Rushton even though he strongly disagrees with the professor's theories. "But the simple reality is the government of Ontario doesn't have the power or authority in any way, manner or right to dismiss a university professor," he said.

Shortly thereafter, in London, at a constituency meeting of Members of the Provincial Parliament, Peter Ewert, a long-time Rushton opponent, parliamentary candidate for the Marxist-Leninist Party and member of the Academic Coalition for Equality, asked the MPPs if the New Democratic Party, which became the

Ontario government on September 6, 1990, would push for action on a resolution passed by their party to urge UWO to guarantee protection from racist teaching. MPP Marion Boyd replied "We deplore racism in any respect," and the government is "bringing in very strong anti-racism legislation" that would apply to all agencies it supports financially. Although some of Rushton's colleagues have once again begun to allow their respect for Rushton to show in their personal demeanor toward him, it would seem that from the broader point of view the "Rushton Affair" at the University of Western Ontario is by no means dead, if only because the overall political climate in Canada concerning freedom of thought and speech has not improved.

7 / ACTIVIST LYSENKOISM: THE CASE OF BARRY MEHLER

As already noted, the East German professor, Volkmar Weiss, born and raised under the tyranny of Marxist-Leninist rule in the GDR, has recently published an article entitled "It Could Be *Neo*-Lysenkoism, if There was Ever a Break in Continuity." (*Mankind Quarterly*, 31:3, Spring 1991) In this he traces the history of enforced Lysenkoist thought control in East German universities under Marxist rule, but in particular he points out that Marxist activists in the universities of the West still emphasize environment at the expense of genetics, and as ideologues preserve the same Marxist bias that underpinned the false Lysenkoist theories taught in East Germany and other Marxist-controlled East European countries until 1989. In short, although we have used the term neo-Lysenkoism to refer to the writings of authors such as Kamin and Lewontin, in effect they have preserved the *same* Marxist tradition to which the absurd Lysenkoist theories gave a "smoke and mirror" semblance of scientific legitimacy.

But while hereditarian research in Marxist-controlled central and east Europe was suppressed from above, in the West it has been undermined from below by character assassination and intimidation. As an example of the former, we have witnessed the outpourings of writers such as Kamin, Lewontin and Gould. As an example of the latter, we have already noted the activities of Jerry Hirsch.

We briefly introduced the reader to Jerry Hirsch's "Institutional Racism" training course at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, when discussing his tirade against Arthur Jensen. Hirsch's targets included more scholars than simply Jensen. Tiring of searching for 'evidence' of Jensen's tendency to "sink" to unethical "misrepresentation," Hirsch turned his attention to attacking the reputation of the distinguished professor emeritus of psychology, Raymond B. Cattell, formerly of the University of Illinois (Hirsch's own base of activity), and complained that "my University of Illinois squandered a career-long research professorship on (Cattell)." This is a surprising claim in light of the impres-

sive collection of psychologists who recognize Cattell's authoritative contributions to the subject of intelligence and IQ testing. Hirsch passed over Cattell's multitude of published books and articles to imply that all who saw fit to publish and read Cattell's research were ignorant. All he could do is to take solace in the criticism of Cattell by Marxist J.B.S. Haldane.

Likening Cattell to the "disgraced Vice President Spiro Agnew," Hirsch railed against Cattell's "Hitler-type recommendations" on the need for eugenic foresight in shaping taxation and other government policies which impact upon the fertility of the different segments of any population. Unsatisfied by this, Hirsch has attacked other scholars, including Shockley, Rushton, and Eysenck, who has published several books showing that intelligence is heavily influenced by genetic forces. Although Eysenck left Germany with his family in the early 1930s, after Hitler came to power, Hirsch still sees fit to accuse Eysenck of Hitlerite notions – an accusation which hardly seems plausible. Eysenck "goes to almost diabolical extremes," Hirsch argues, to avoid recognizing the views of scholars who oppose hereditarian theories. Besides, Hirsch points out, as if to prove his point, Eysenck shares Jensens' views.

Today Hirsch is semi-retired, one might presume, as we hear less from him. But his torch is now being carried by someone who is even more of a zealot. That someone is his erstwhile student, Barry Mehler.

Barry Mehler

Let us look at this disciple of Jerry Hirsch, an excellent example of a political activist operating from the security of the academic world. Mehler has rarely published anything under his sole authorship in a scholarly journal, but this does not stop him from writing politicized diatribes, filled with inaccuracies, for fringe publications on the Far Left, or from participating as an "expert" in non-academic TV shows such as *Geraldo*. Indeed, he seems to specialize in pillorying respected scholars with impressive research credentials who reject the Marxist theory that all individuals and peoples are identical (i.e., "equal") in their inherited potential abilities. Moreover, copies of Mehler's inaccurate and scandalous attacks on such scholars are frequently mailed to journalists in anonymous envelopes. Recipients have ranged from well-known figures such as Jack Anderson, of syndicated columnist fame, to

editors of student journals and journalists working for local newspapers in towns in which the scholars he lambastes work and reside.

Barry Alan Mehler, today an assistant professor of history at Ferris State University, Big Rapids, Michigan, is a prize example of an anti-hereditarian who has specialized in political activism. He obtains his livelihood from the academic world, but devotes his prime energies to attacking scholars who have genuine achievements to their credit. He makes an interesting case study in the motives and techniques of political activists who operate from the financial security of taxpayer supported institutions.

Born on March 18, 1947, Mehler attended Yeshiva University and obtained a baccalaureate degree in history from that institution in 1970. Studying at the City College of the City University of New York from 1970 to 1972, he obtained a master's degree with a major in modern American history and a minor in modern European history. Mehler was employed as a teaching assistant at City University for the last year of his master's course, the subject being "A Survey of American History." Between 1973 and 1975 he was a teaching assistant at Washington University, his subjects being "American Foreign Policy," "American Labor History," "Modern Jewish History" and "A Survey of American History."

From 1975 and 1976 Mehler worked with the Missouri Arts Council, guiding St. Louis public schools in the design of cultural programs, exhibitions and lectures for elementary school children. More significantly for his future career, between 1976 and 1980 he was employed as a research assistant at Washington University, working under Garland Allen, a Left-leaning biologist whose writings show him to have been a bitter antagonist of eugenics. Here Mehler participated in teaching several undergraduate and graduate level courses in the history of genetics and eugenics as he saw it. During the Spring of 1977 he was temporarily employed as an instructor at the same university, where he organized a course for the Jewish Studies program entitled: "The Jewish Experience in America from 1880 to 1975."

There may be a key in this to Mehler's motivation. Mehler seems to believe that there had been an attempt by the early American eugenics movement to prevent Jewish immigration into America during the early part of the present century. He has also stated his own parents entered the U.S. at that time, and this fact might understandably contribute to the highly vitriolic nature of

his opposition to all eugenics movements. He had studied the German eugenics movement of the 1930s – which he maintained with some truth was modeled on notions then current in America – and he was also deeply interested in "holocaust studies," believing that a commitment to eugenics had led to an anti-Jewish "holocaust" in Germany and Poland. Having participated as a trainee in Jerry Hirsch's "Institutional Racism Training Program," he was also well schooled in anti-hereditarian activism under a leading protagonist in that area.

As we have already noted, Mehler's mentor, Jerry Hirsch, has a long history of fighting "academic racism" – having made himself Arthur Jensen's most bitter critic as the author of a particularly scurrilous pamphlet entitled "To Unfrock the Charlatans." This mercilessly denigrated Jensen and Shockley and was enthusiastically circulated by the SDS. Hirsch had also authored a paper with the pretentious title "Behavior-genetic analysis and its biosocial consequences," which appeared in the one-sided, Left-leaning anthology, *The IQ Controversy* (Pantheon Books, 1976), edited by N. J. Block and G. Dworkin. This article was not a balanced study of the topic indicated in its title, being little more than an irrational tirade against research into the genetic basis of human behavior.

Mehler appears to have become one of Hirsch's favorite students, and it was therefore no surprise when Hirsch took Mehler with him to Atlanta, where they both testified "as expert witnesses" for the defense when Shockley sued the *Atlanta Constitution* for libel.

Indeed, Shockley liked to show a video of Hirsch and Mehler attacking him on an Atlanta TV program, shown at the time of his lawsuit against the *Atlanta Constitution*. The video records the presence of a highly antagonistic audience, presumably carefully selected and conveniently equipped with banners and whistles, whose role it was to interrupt Shockley whenever he tried to speak, and to convey an atmosphere of universal disapproval for the Shockley's "racist" views. Both Hirsch and Mehler appeared as part of a panel of "experts" (the third member was a black political activist) whose role it was to reveal the Nobel Prize winner's "prejudices."

As his status as a trainee in Hirsch's Institutional Racism Training Program drew to a close, Mehler was admitted as a Ph.D. candidate in history at Urbana Champaign, choosing for his dissertation "A History of the American Eugenics Society, 1921-

1940." Both Garland Allen and Jerry Hirsch were on his doctoral committee – Allen presumably as a biologist and Hirsch as an expert on the supposed "psychosis of racism." From this time onwards, Mehler has increasingly assumed Hirsch's role as a bitter opponent of scholars who speak openly about the role of genetics in determining the potential limits of human behavior.

Several qualities consistently characterize Mehler's attacks on the scholars he selects for "exposure." He seldom attempts to present scientific evidence to contradict the findings of the scholars he is denigrating. Clearly, since they are writing within the limits of their own or related disciplines, and he has no demonstrated or academically recognized competence in these areas, he cannot do this. His one injudicious comment about the genetics of the fruit fly exposed his inability, to debate the scientific basis of eugenics. In consequence, Mehler falls back on *ad hominem* attacks, labeling some of America's and Britain's finest scientists "racists," "nazis" and "fascists." Those whom he has attacked include such distinguished scholars as John Baker (Oxford), Thomas Bouchard (Minnesota), Sir Cyril Burt (London), Raymond Cattell (Illinois and Hawaii), C.D. Darlington (Oxford), Hans Eysenck (London), Linda Gottfredson (Delaware), James Gregor (UC Berkeley), Richard Herrnstein (Harvard), Arthur Jensen (UC Berkeley), Travis Osborne (Georgia), J. Philippe Rushton (Western Ontario), Nancy Segal (Minnesota), William Shockley (Stanford), Audrey Shuey (William and Mary), Ernest Van den Haag (New School for Social Research), and Daniel Vining (Pennsylvania).

Mehler's Publications

"***The New Eugenics: Academic Racism in the U.S. Today***" (1983)

Mehler's debut into the world of political publishing came soon after he became a trainee in "Institutional Racism" under Hirsch. This took the form of a publication under his own name which appeared in a special issue of the Marxist-aligned *Science for the People* devoted to "Biology as Destiny." Calling his contribution "The New Eugenics: Academic Racism in the U.S. Today," Mehler opened by alleging that a new wave of racism had emerged in academic circles, which reflected "the rise of the new right and the election of Ronald Reagan." He showed his extremist views and low political comprehension by alleging that the philosophy of the John Birch society "is now the ruling ideology of the Reagan administra-

tion."

The hallmarks of the new Reagan "authoritarianism," according to Mehler, were (1) the call to re-arm America; (2) a demand for tough law and order measures; (3) "scapegoating blacks and undocumented workers [i.e. illegal immigrants] as a criminal class"; and (4) "anti-feminism along with calls for the reassertion of traditional family and sexual goals." Mehler continues: "Just as racism is being nurtured in the halls of Congress, it is being taught in the halls of academia."

With these views, we can see that Mehler would have no problem finding Marxist and other Leftist publications that would publish him. Knowing that propaganda associated with World War II had made the subjects of race and eugenics "untouchable," and that the media generally reported research in these areas in a one-sided or even pejorative manner, Mehler complained that he was concerned that "not since World War II has racism been so respectable a subject among American intellectuals. It is in this atmosphere that the new eugenics movement has arisen."

It is not clear how Mehler distinguishes the "new eugenics" from the old. It could be that the "new eugenics" is rooted in much more advanced knowledge of genetics and more advanced and comprehensive research (of the Minnesota Twin Studies variety), which we will discuss in a later chapter. This would be a valid use of the term "new." More likely, however, since Mehler would be loathe to admit the solid scientific basis of eugenic thought today, he is trying to imply a link between the widespread revival of "hereditarian" thought in academic circles and the horrors of World War II.

Indeed, as he continues his article, Mehler suggests that British and American eugenic theorists were responsible for "death camps" in Germany. Moreover, Mehler continues, although "many people believed it [the eugenics movement] to be dead forever, along with the racist political system which gave rise to it ... a new eugenics movement has re-emerged ... the aim of this movement is a world of racially pure stock living in separate geographic areas, with strict apartheid practiced in areas where racial groups share one common geographic land mass." He does not quote or cite any published statement or work to justify this allegation, or in support of his next assertion, namely that: "the extreme right wing of this movement openly advocates the elimination of all nonwhite races, Jews and homosexuals."

These undocumented conclusions are figments of Mehler's imagination. Perhaps he believes what he says, or perhaps he just makes such ridiculous charges for political effect. For example, no eugenicist would be likely to advocate the extermination of homosexuals, since strict homosexual behavior can never lead to the procreation of offspring. Homosexuals would hardly be a target for even the most far-reaching of "negative" eugenics programs.

Let us look at some more of Mehler's remarkable publications.

"Eugenics: Racist Ideology Makes" (1984)

In keeping with his predilection for publishing in Far Left journals (presumably the only ones that would accept his materials), on August 24, 1974, Mehler published an article entitled "Eugenics: Racist Ideology Makes" in *The Guardian News Weekly*, which describes itself as a "Marxist-Leninist radical newspaper" and claims a circulation of 20,000. This comprised much inaccurate material, including wildly false allegations which he dropped from some of his later articles. Those included in this attack were Shockley, Jensen, Herrnstein, and Roger Pearson – mentioning pejoratively the latter's receipt of a commendatory letter from President Reagan. We know from other writings that Mehler regarded the Reagan years as a disaster and that he believed "hereditarian studies" were nothing more than an apology for capitalism. Mehler's tactics in this article differ little from the orthodox Marxist position on race and eugenics, which portrays "racism" and "hereditarian thought" as tools of capitalism invented as a justification for the exploitation of the working masses. Mehler not only appears to blame capitalism for poverty but also somehow sees research into heredity and eugenics as a threat to Jews, as well as to "blacks, women and undocumented [i.e., "illegal immigrant"] workers."

"The New Eugenics: Academic Racism in the U.S.A. Today" (1984)

Mehler again develops his thesis that eugenics leads to anti-semitism in this article, which appeared in the January/February 1984 issue of *Israel Horizons*.

This was largely similar to his earlier 1983 article under the same title in *Science for the People*. Mehler again charges that "a new wave of racism has emerged in academic circles. It is being legitimized by an alarming change in American politics." The article

repeats many of Mehler's customary distortions, but is clearly aimed at scaring the journal's Jewish readers into believing that "the new eugenics" could lead to a new wave of anti-semitism. Mehler may genuinely believe that himself, and concludes with the statement that: "The new eugenics movement represents the intellectual backbone of modern fascism." He argues that the old eugenics movement, begun in England and led by Americans, laid the groundwork for Hitler and for death camps. As Stephen Jay Gould wrote in connection with the 1924 immigration quotas, which reduced the rate of immigration into America for European Jews among other peoples: "The pathways to destruction are often indirect, but ideas can be agents as surely as guns and bombs." Mehler does not trouble to mention at this point that many of the "new eugenicists" are Jewish – a fact which makes his claims ridiculous.

"***Eliminating the Inferior***" (1987)

In November/December 1987, Mehler published a preposterous article entitled "Eliminating the Inferior" in *Science for the People*, the quasi-Marxist journal much used by scholars of Far Left inclination, many of whom are self-declared Marxists. *Science for the People* regularly snipes at researchers who reveal the role of heredity in determining human behavior.

This article differed from his earlier creations mainly in that it included more data relating to the eugenic movement in the Germany of the 1930s, and sought to link this to the early history of the American eugenics movement. In a section entitled "Eugenicists' Shared Goals," Mehler linked the American eugenic program with that of "Dr. William Frick, the German Minister of the Interior who was hanged at Nuremburg for crimes against humanity." He emphasizes, quite correctly, that the American Eugenics Society: "represented the collective views of the mainstream of American eugenicists and was composed of some of the most prestigious American academics and progressives." He makes this admission while seeking to tar what he calls "the mainstream eugenic movement" and thereby tarnish the memory of the pioneers of the American eugenics movement. He constantly seems anxious to scare his readers into regarding eugenic research as "fascist" – and as constituting a serious threat to "the traditional victims of racism – Jews, Blacks, women and the poor."

Mehler's antipathy for realistic behavioral genetic theory and

research is such that in this article he even impugns Konrad Lorenz, Nobel Laureate in Medicine, for stating that: "the eugenic defense against the dysgenic social effects of afflicted subpopulations is of necessity limited to equally drastic measures ... When these inferior elements are not effectively eliminated from a [healthy] population then – just as when the cells of a malignant tumor are allowed to proliferate throughout a human body – they destroy the host body as well as themselves."

One wonders whether Mehler can see the truth of what Lorenz is saying. If he *cannot* see this truth, then we are faced with an enigma as to his personality, since his Ph.D. dissertation seems to reflect a capable mind. We are left to surmise that he is probably aware that his published articles and his recorded talks contain inaccuracies, misrepresentations and distortions, but that he may have unconsciously yielded to the old dogma that "the end justifies the means." The constant errors and exaggerations *could* be due to carelessness, but they are so constantly biased in the same direction that this is hard to believe.

Perhaps the most revealing insight into Mehler's views is found in the inset published with his "Eliminating the Inferior" article. In this he tells how "the effort to exonerate eugenics of guilt for the holocaust continues." Mehler himself proudly reports that at a 1985 University of Illinois conference in honor of the retirement of Professor Lloyd G. Humphreys (professor of psychology and education and editor of the *Psychological Bulletin* and the *American Journal of Psychology*), Humphrey's speech ended with a call for a eugenics program to save America from disaster as a result of the large numbers of children being born to persons of low intelligence. Humphreys said that, "In the absence of knowledge concerning remedial measures, a correlation of around -.20 between mother's intelligence and number of offspring cannot be tolerated for long in a democracy." Oblivious to the fact that the symposium was honoring the occasion of Humphreys' retirement, Mehler rose to his feet and told Humphreys that all eugenic measures were but precursors to Nazism and to future holocausts.

"Rightist on the Rights Panel" (1989)

In the Fall of 1987 a man calling himself Ben O'Brien, and representing himself (falsely and criminally) as a reporter for *The Baltimore Sun*, called numerous people in an effort to collect information about selected "racist" scholars, and after claiming that

he was working on a story for *The Baltimore Sun* would ask numerous questions, and then denigrate the scholars he was enquiring about if he found that the person to whom he was speaking did not know them personally. *The Baltimore Sun*, when contacted, affirmed that they had no employee by the name of Ben O'Brien and were not working on any story – and issued a letter of confirmation to that effect.

Later, in 1988, Mehler (still at the University of Illinois) called Professor Ralph Scott of the University of Northern Iowa, and said that he was writing an article (for a Far Left publication *The Nation*) on Scott's role as an advisor to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. He asked about Scott's activities and referred to information obtained by "O'Brien of *The Baltimore Sun*." The outcome was a vicious article attacking Dr. Scott, entitled "Rightist on the Rights Panel" (1989).

In this article, Mehler actually thanked "Ben O'Brien" for "research assistance" in its preparation. The title of the article was catchy, since it implied that there was something remarkable and inconsistent in having a "rightist" as chairman of the Iowa Civil Rights Advisory Commission. It is possible that Mehler did not know that "Ben O'Brien" had criminally misrepresented himself, using a fictitious name, in which case we must presume that Mehler was innocent and was being used as a mouthpiece by some person or persons unknown.

Ralph Scott, whom the article targets, is a respected professor who has conducted extensive scholarly research and published several in-depth studies which reveal the failure of governmentally-enforced school integration to assist minority children. In particular he has examined social science evidence concerning the effect of enforced racial integration in schools, and has concluded that bussing has failed to benefit either black or white children. This seemingly made him an "academic racist" in Mehler's eyes.

Using information collected by "Ben O'Brien," Mehler inaccurately implied that Scott had used funds donated to the University of Northern Iowa to advance anti-bussing activities. These charges, leaked to the local press, placed sufficient pressure on Scott to cause him to resign from his honorary position as head of the Iowa Civil Rights Advisory Board, an appointment to which he had been nominated by the Reagan administration – a fact which would be anathema to Mehler.

Mehler's Other Activities

The Geraldo Show (1989)

On the *Geraldo* TV show, put together in such a way as to discredit Professor Rushton as well as to entertain a sensation-seeking audience, Mehler and Hirsch both appeared as "expert critics" on the subject of race and heredity. Whose idea the show was has not been revealed. Who thought of inviting Mehler and Hirsch has also not been revealed.

During the taping of the *Geraldo* show, for which considerably more footage was recorded than was actually used, Mehler claimed that he had been "trained in institutional racism" and that in his opinion Rushton was a racist whose theories were similar to those of Nazi Germany (in brief, a simple re-run of the Shockley confrontation in Atlanta).

Speaking to *The Pioneer*, the local newspaper of Big Rapids, Michigan, Mehler supported his accusations against the Pioneer Fund (a New York foundation which had made grants to Rushton's university) by erroneously claiming that one of the directors had been "associated with the House Un-American Activities Committee" – an interesting insight into his political views. The petty scope of his world-vision is revealed by his comment to the local press that: "My students respect me more now. They figure if I've been on *Geraldo* I must know what I'm talking about." Unfortunately, he was probably right.

***The Jack Anderson Article** (1989)*

On November 16, 1989, Jack Anderson and Dale Van Atta published a syndicated column in *The Washington Post* entitled "Pioneer Fund's Controversial Projects." On the telephone they admitted that this article was based on nothing more than a package of newspaper cuttings they received anonymously through the mail. The article referred to the Ralph Scott incident, and alleged that "President Ronald Reagan appointed Scott to the Iowa Civil Rights Advisory Commission, but Scott resigned when historian Barry Mehler exposed his past."

It is not known who sent this package of clippings, which seemingly included some of Mehler's writings, and the mystery of who mailed similar anonymous packages, some of which definitely comprised Mehler's articles, to the media in the persistent effort to calumnify Rushton at the University of Western Ontario, Linda

Gottfredson at the University of Delaware (see pages 257-260), and Hans Eysenck at the University of London, England (see page 261), remains unsolved.

History 289 "The Holocaust"

In the Fall of 1989 Mehler taught a course numbered "History 289," and entitled "The Holocaust," at Ferris State University. Mixed in with other exotic recommended reading, such as "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion"; "The War against the Jews"; "Auschwitz: An Eyewitness account of Mengele's Infamous Death Camp," Mehler included one of his own papers which incorporated libelous and highly inaccurate attacks on respected U.S. scholars. This was entitled "Foundations for Fascism," and its inclusion with books of the aforementioned nature clearly suggested that scholars researching heredity and human behavior were either "fascists" or the precursors of fascism. Mehler's imaginative theme was that any form of hereditarian research was fascist-motivated and ultimately leads to fascism.

This was an official course at Ferris State University, and was presumably funded by that institution. We would like to assume that the administration at Ferris State University did not understand what Mehler is doing, or did not understand the issues at stake. Mehler himself is surely aware that he is engaged in a campaign to undermine those who study behavioral genetics and to discourage other scholars from engaging in research that might undermine the egalitarian values which seem to be more dear to Mehler than the harsh facts of inequality.

American Association for the Advancement of Science

The American Association for the Advancement of Science met in New Orleans on February 16, 1990, and several associates of *Science for the People* participated in a symposium, under the official auspices of the AAAS, which purported to discuss "Race and Gender." Not surprisingly, the group comprised mainly persons who had contributed articles to *Science for the People* or were sympathetic to its goals. Mehler's presentation was somewhat incoherent and was presented in a very emotional manner, comprising little more than a rehash of his already-published tirades, attacking the same people with the same message – "full of sound and fury, but signifying nothing."

Mehler-Related Attacks at Particular Universities

Hirsch and Mehler's attacks against Jensen, Shockley, Eysenck, Herrnstein and others seem at first to have been carried out as part of a two-stage national media campaign. This first stage was the publication of scurrilous and inaccurate articles attacking these scholars in radical Leftist magazines, and in the second stage, newspaper stories began to report the allegations contained in such articles as though they were fact. Beginning in 1989, however, the Mehler-related campaign against "politically incorrect" research on race and genetics shifted significantly. It now began to target the universities at which the research in question was being conducted, using articles associated with the earlier campaign as leverage with those universities' administrations. Specifically, it was designed to pressure universities themselves into taking action against the targeted researchers, which they usually did.

Such effects were accomplished by bringing media and faculty attention to complaints, principally Mehler's, about the researchers' work and their funding source – often through the device of anonymous mailings to local faculty and journalists. These false but lurid complaints in turn mobilized public opposition to the targeted researchers and generated a level of unfavorable publicity before which university administrators frequently wilted.

Whereas the earlier strategy to discredit the researchers among their national peers failed to have much effect, it apparently has been much easier to disrupt careers and research by mobilizing vocal opposition among local university constituencies who are not familiar with the fields in question. Mehler or his articles have figured prominently in all these cases.

While the University of Minnesota, out of the five universities involved so far (University of London, Western Ontario, Minnesota, Delaware, and Smith College) rebuffed these attempts at manipulation outright, the other four failed to do so. In fact, Western Ontario and Delaware unambiguously violated the code of academic freedom by seeking to cut off research funding from the targeted faculty member, making their working conditions intolerable, and taking steps which threatened their tenure.

The University of Western Ontario (1988/91)

Until 1988 Mehler seems to have contented himself largely with writing scurrilous politicized articles, which were used as the

basis for some of the increasingly frequent newspaper attacks on exponents of heredity and human behavior. There is evidence, however, that he has expanded his activities.

He appears to have participated in a partially anonymous campaign designed to embarrass the administration of universities that accept grants for race-related studies. While his involvement in the problems facing Professor Rushton at the University of Western Ontario (already described) may have resulted from news reports of Rushton's presentation at the American Association for the Advancement of Science, it seems evident from many of the subsequent press stories, some of which cite his name, that these were based upon the inaccurate stories which Mehler had written. Copies of Mehler articles were circulated to faculty members in blind envelopes, and somebody also mailed his articles to local journalists in more than one town where attacks were made on scholars engaged in research on intelligence and heredity. Hirsch and Mehler appeared on the Geraldo show that attempted to denigrate Rushton's work, and Mehler's articles seem to have been the source of much of the inaccurate material used on this campus and in local Canadian newspapers, since some of the inaccuracies contained in these diverse reports reflect those found in Mehler's writings.

Indeed, in February 1991, Mehler travelled to London, Ontario, to speak at a Rushton-Protest meeting organized by a Far Left activist group. His presentation was largely a repetition of his old themes, and the title of his presentation, "The New Eugenics: Foundations for Fascism," again reflected his obsession with the alleged connection between capitalism and eugenics. A taped record of the meeting reveals Mehler's rambling emphasis on "class warfare," in the course of which he linked the names of Harding Coolidge and George Bush to Adolf Hitler, and declared that "the ultimate conclusion of these [biological theories arising out of capitalism] is that if you don't get it in your genes then we got a place for you. We can make you into pillow-cases and lightshades and we can take the gold out of your teeth." Nobody in his audience seemed to notice that he had been complaining, just a moment before, about the extreme poverty caused by capitalists, and therefore his reference to eugenicists "taking the gold out of the teeth" of the poor was hardly an appropriate simile.

Perhaps the most notable revelation made by Mehler at London, Ontario, apart from his open alignment with SDS views

on the supposed link between capitalism and genetic research was his veiled admission that he had played a role in the attack on Professor Linda Gottfredson of the University of Delaware, and his declaration that "We won the battle [at Delaware]."

The University of Delaware (1989-91)

In 1989 and 1990, collections of Mehler's material were sent in anonymous envelopes to various university faculty and students at the University of Delaware. These became the basis of an orchestrated campaign to cut off funding for the widely acclaimed research of Dr. Linda Gottfredson, a professor earlier commended by the university not only for her teaching skills but also for the quality and quantity of her original research work and her publications in prestigious academic journals.

In the case of the University of Delaware, one faculty member in particular seems to have elected to head the onslaught, armed with Mehler's material. This was William J. Frawley, a "deconstructionist etymologist" in the English Department, who cuts something of an unusual figure for an academic. Indeed, according to the Wilmington *News Journal* ("Man with knife arrested after Main Street incident," July 5, 1987), Frawley was once arrested by the police for "wielding a large knife and threatening to kill a passerby" on the Main Street. Someone had clearly decided to equip Frawley with the ammunition he would need to press his complaints about Professor Gottfredson's research funding. In his eight page letter to the University President, he appears to have relied heavily on Mehler's and Hirsch's accusations against her funding source, without checking their accuracy. Indeed, he cited Mehler, *The Nation* and Hirsch no less than 29 times, and many of his other less frequent references appear to have been drawn second-hand from these same sources.

Essentially the gist of Frawley's complaint was that Linda Gottfredson had been supported in her research – virtually all of which had been published in prestigious refereed journals – by grants to the University of Delaware made by a foundation in New York, The Pioneer Fund, whose charter provided for research into heredity *and eugenics*.The thrust of his letter was to argue that the foundation was seeking to promote racism by funding research into heredity, that the charter and its founders indicated an alleged "fascist" bias, as did the fields of study undertaken by those scholars who had received grants from that foundation. He did not trouble

to enquire into the list of beneficiaries of grants or the purposes of such grants, except where Mehler articles had suggested a nefarious hidden agenda.

Frawley's selective and inaccurate representation of the foundation and its grantees omitted all mention of evidence that conflicted with this gross mischaracterization of a somewhat conservative but clearly legitimate source of research funding. Omitted was mention of the fact that John Marshall Harlan, later to become a Supreme Court justice and supporter of all school desegregation cases before the Court, was a founding trustee and sat on the board for 17 years. Also omitted was mention of the fact that the foundation had made grants to such prestigious bodies as the University of California at Berkeley, San Diego and Santa Barbara, to Johns Hopkins University, to the Universities of Calgary, Connecticut, Hawaii, London, Minnesota, New York, Pennsylvania, Stanford, Tel Aviv, Texas and many other prestigious colleges such as Hampden-Sydney and Randolf Macon, as well as to Foundations such as the National Hemophilia Foundation, Cornell Medical Center, Sickle Cell Disease Foundation and the Tay-Sachs Prevention Program at the Eunice Shriver Center for Research.

Frawley's aim seems primarily to have been to cut off all funding for Gottfredson with a view to crippling her research. Possibly he also sought to make other universities wary of accepting grants from the Pioneer Fund. Once the attack had been launched, other Leftist faculty members and several black organizations joined to condemn the very nature of her research. Some of the funds she had received had gone to assist her in guest-editing two influential special issues of the *Journal of Vocational Behavior.* This is a thoroughly respected academic publication, in dramatic contrast to the heavily politicized and certainly non-refereed (in the academic sense) *Guardian* or *The Nation,* in which Mehler's articles had been published. These volumes, like much of Gottfredson's own work, revealed the need to consider evidence concerning racial disparities in intelligence and related qualifications when trying to solve the problem of persistent unemployment and fashion more effective public policy on race-related issues. This is anathema to the Leftists criticizing Gottfredson, who considers herself to be a "traditional liberal" and a "Hubert Humphrey Democrat" on civil rights issues.

The pressure on the administration of the University of

Delaware was increased by media attention, much of it local but some national. For example, on November 16, 1989 – about six weeks after the controversy erupted – Jack Anderson and Dale Van Atta published their syndicated column in *The Washington Post* entitled "Pioneer Fund's Controversial Projects," which highlighted Gottfredson's research as well as the controversy at the University of Delaware. The remainder of the column relied on specific claims which Mehler has repeatedly made in his writings, and at one point it explicitly credits Mehler. Not surprisingly, Anderson's researcher stated on the telephone that the column was based on a package of materials received "anonymously" through the mail.

The upshot of the controversy at the University of Delaware was that Gottfredson was nearly denied promotion to full professor, was forced to spend many months defending herself against scurrilous attacks on her work, character, and funding source, and was then officially cut off from a critical source of research funding. This in turn has crippled her ability to carry on her highly-regarded but, in some quarters, "politically incorrect" research.

The controversy over Gottfredson's funding source erupted, perhaps not coincidentally, just as she was coming up for promotion. Whereas only a year earlier her department and department chair had both unreservedly commended the quality and importance of her research and recommended tenure and promotion, they now found her work "unscholarly." Her department went so far as to accuse her – one of the university's star researchers – of lacking scholarly integrity. Eventually, after spending many hours of valuable academic time in disputation at the next three levels of the promotion process, Gottfredson was granted promotion.

After conducting an investigation of her work as well as her funding source, the university administration – under increasing media pressure – announced that it was banning further funding from that source. While denying that it was violating her academic freedom (receiving funds through the university is only a "privilege," according to the university), the university cited purely political – and hence impermissible – grounds for denying her that "privilege": namely, the activities supported by the foundation supposedly conflict with the university's "mission" to promote "cultural diversity" and "affirmative action." While also claiming not to oppose Gottfredson's research, the university administration nonetheless condemned the other grantees' research on the same grounds that Gottfredson's local critics had criticized her own,

similar research.

Thus, in practical effect, the Far Left activists achieved their immediate goal – to harass and at least temporarily silence a highly respected scholar whose well documented and clearly presented research could undermine their doctrine of social and biological egalitarianism. They no doubt achieved another goal – to chill all inquiry into such issues – for such intimidation is not lost on others.

At no time was any effort made to deny the facts Gottfredson had collated and presented. Victory was won simply by citing falsehoods and distortions, from Mehler and others, and by making sufficient noise to embarrass the university administration in the local media. The irrelevance of truth and the relevance of political pressure became obvious when the chairman of the board of trustees wrote:

> No matter whether that is in fact the orientation of the Pioneer Fund or not ["that there are fundamental hereditary differences among people of different racial and cultural backgrounds"], that is perceived as the orientation of the Fund by at least a material number of our faculty, staff, and students. Without judging the merits of this perception, the board's objective of increasing minority presence at the University could ... be hampered if the University chose to seek funds from the Pioneer Fund at this time.

Smith College

Material authored by Mehler has also mysteriously surfaced at Smith College, where Professor Seymour Itzkoff had authored a series of four published books tracing differential rates of human evolution around the world, with resultant differences in the intelligence of living peoples. Leftist opponents on this very liberal campus lodged protests against Itzkoff's work, citing statements contained in Mehler's writings to condemn him. Clearly, Mehler or someone who was well aware of Mehler's writings was using these in an attempt to silence those who publicly recognized the fact that intelligence is largely determined by heredity.

Itzkoff is the author of several books dealing with ethnic disparities in IQ and the possible evolutionary basis for the unequal distribution of IQ among living human populations. As a scholar of Jewish descent, like Richard Herrnstein and Nancy Segal

at Minnesota, his scholastic activities again belie Mehler's theory that only racially-prejudiced "Wasps" are concerned with the study of heredity and eugenics. Under pressure from faculty members not to impinge upon a faculty member's right to conduct research or receive funding for such research from interested parties, the Smith College administration declined to prohibit Itzkoff from receiving further funds in the future, but attempted to distance the College from his writings and the source of his funding.

What Itzkoff has in common with all the foregoing scholars against whom Mehler's irresponsible, inaccurate and often outright false diatribes have been used as a weapon is the fact that he had received a grant for research, through his university, from the Pioneer Fund. In short, the conclusion is unavoidable that someone who follows Mehler's writings, if not Mehler himself, every year studies the record of the Pioneer Fund's latest grants to universities and scholastic research institutions, and then attempts to intimidate the administrators of the recipient university from taking further funds from the Pioneer Foundation. If the reputations of the scholars conducting the funded research were damaged in the process, those conducting these campaigns seemed not to care.

The University of London

A similar effort was made to harass Professor Hans Eysenck, the world's most frequently cited psychologist, at the University of London. As those who are aware of the situation in Britain will appreciate, Eysenck was caused considerable embarrassment by an inaccurate report published in *The Sunday Independent* which reflected or repeated several of the fallacious statements initiated by Mehler. After its lawyers had been presented with the facts, the newspaper published a statement signed by five distinguished scholars repudiating the inaccurate information it had published without adequately checking the authenticity of the journalist's sources, which would appear to have been Mehler's diatribes. Other false statements which could have been taken from Mehler's writings have also been circulated among radical students in Britain. Whether or not Mehler was directly connected with such publicity is unknown, although he did author an article under his own name in the British publication *Patterns of Prejudice,* and copies of an earlier, wildly inaccurate, version of that article were circulated around the University of Delaware *prior* to its actual

publication. These early drafts, which contained many false statements subsequently eliminated from the published version, can be presumed to have come from Mehler himself.

The University of Minnesota (1990)

Another press scandal, this time definitely traceable to Mehler, occurred at the University of Minnesota, where Professor Bouchard's "twin study" program has produced results which have become the pride of the campus and which have received wide academic acclaim. At its inception, Bouchard's research program had been the subject of excited attacks by Marxist students, with slogans painted on university buildings accusing him of "nazism" and "racism." Reference is made to these in our closing chapter, but for the present suffice it to say that such agitation had totally abated as the success of his research program gained world renown. That fact was not to deter Mehler, however, who in his presentation to the radical student group in London, Ontario, had particularly singled out Bouchard, arguing that "Thomas Bouchard is doing a tremendous amount of damage because he is the most respected ... People say that they recognize Phil Rushton, right, but Thomas Bouchard, hey, we're talking about real science here. This is in *Science* magazine, which is the most influential magazine of science in the world, and he has this big article and he says listen, its all genetic. And he's got his twin studies, you know, he's proved it."

Mehler went out of his way to cause trouble for Bouchard's program, and was reported in the press to have telephoned his accusations of racism, etc., to a symposium at the university's Bio-Medical Center. He even supplied some of his usual material to a local Jewish newspaper, with allegations that hereditarian research was inherently anti-Semitic, achieving little other than to cause embarrassment to Professor Nancy Segal, one of the leading researchers, who is herself Jewish.

Professor Bouchard and other researchers at the University of Minnesota were not too disturbed, as they had already been inoculated by their previous experiences with SDS and similar Marxist-oriented groups. Mehler's accusations were quite as wild as usual, revealing his abysmal ignorance of the literature by alleging that the Minnesota program was non-academic and had "only published one article in a refereed journal." This, of course, was total nonsense, and led Professor Bouchard to comment that:

> ... [Mehler's] lack of scholarship really shows. He claims that we have published only one article in a refereed journal [actually the program has published an exceedingly large number of such scholarly articles in some of the most prestigious journals]. I have attached a list of all our publications dealing with twins reared apart. Mehler has never written to us requesting articles! He obviously has not done a computer search. The claim that we have published only one article is from Dusek's article in the *Science for the People* newsletter published by the Harvard Marxist group. They are also shabby scholars. The casual reader will think this is a legitimate news source. Mehler cites Far Left sources regularly – in order to give (a highly superficial) impression that his work is authoritative and documented. This provides him with apparent objectivity. As Gottfredson comments: 'these reports, which are not based on investigative reporting, do not give specific facts or sources, but at most cite one another ...' These initial publications in Far Left and Marxist newsletters have been a source of a number of articles published around the world (David Hay sent me one from Australia and another friend sent me one from San Francisco).

We have treated Mehler at length, not because of his scholarship, which is shoddy, but because he represents an extreme example of the tactics of the "academic" Left over the past few decades – the production of poorly researched diatribes unsupported by rational argument, objective experimentation, or accurate factual data. It is apparently much easier to disrupt careers and halt research programs by character assassination and by mobilizing vocal opposition among local politicized faculty and student bodies than to attempt to destroy hereditarian research with facts and logic. Mehler and his articles have figured prominently in all the foregoing cases.

8 / OTHER PROMINENT SCHOLAR-VICTIMS

The obsessive urge to defend the egalitarian hypothesis has led to attacks against many scholars who have not been related in any way to the IQ argument. One of the giants of traditional anthropology, Carleton Coon, of Harvard University, the Peabody Museum and the University of Pennsylvania, authored numerous books on racial evolution which are still cited for their depth of research by the few scholars who dare to discuss race, but which are seldom mentioned in "politically correct" circles.

Among Coon's earliest works was his encyclopedic *Races of Europe* (McMillan, 1954), which traces the peoples of Europe from their Upper Paleolithic roots. While subsequent research has been conducted in this area which would build on Coon's scholarship without dramatically modifying it, the subject is too politically unpopular to permit other scholars to even attempt to publish an update in this area. After that early work, Coon published among other books *The Origin of Races* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), *The Living Races of Man* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), and posthumously Nelson Hall (1982) published a collection of his more recent studies under the title of *Racial Adaptations*. But Coon, who maintained quite logically that human racial differences were of substantial antiquity and reflected different rates of evolution in different parts of the world, with some races achieving the "threshold" of *sapiens* status earlier than others (and remaining ahead of others except where admixture had taken place), rapidly disappeared from university reading lists during the late sixties and seventies.

Similarly, John R. Baker, one of Oxford University's leading biologists, experienced considerable delays in getting the Oxford University Press to publish his mammoth study entitled simply *Race* (Oxford U.P., 1974), although in view of his academic repute among other scholars at Oxford and throughout the Western world they finally published it. In the U.S., in particular, little was done by the U.S. branch of the Oxford University Press (OUP) to publicize the new book. Indeed, the present author overheard an OUP representative at the OUP book display at the American Anthropological Association conference in Mexico City explain to a scholar who was looking for Baker's book that it was not included

in the display because, beautifully written though it was, the U.S. agents had no intention of pushing it since in their opinion their British colleagues had "prostituted themselves" by publishing it. This information was transmitted by the author to his friend John Baker, who replied in writing, saying that he had passed on the information to the Oxford University Press in Britain, but with no known results.

Edward O. Wilson

While Coon and Baker were only mildly calumnified, since they belonged to an older generation of scholars and both are now deceased, Edward O. Wilson of Harvard University was a younger man with years of academic productivity ahead of him, and he was treated quite differently. Although he did not in general write directly about race – and regarded himself as a political liberal – his *Sociobiology: The New Synthesis* (Harvard U.P., 1975) was an epic work of sweeping and revolutionary significance. Going far beyond the subject of intelligence and heredity, he produced an all-encompassing study of the role of genetics in determining human behavioral potential just as it determined the behavior of all other living species. In short, he took mankind off the false "apple of god's eye" pedestal that Middle Eastern "revealed religion" had placed it on, and returned it to the more objective place that Greco-Latin scholarship had assigned to it. He reasserted the need to consider causality when studying the human animal, and to apply the principles of scientific research when trying to understand sociological and anthropological problems. The implications of behavioral genetics were restated in a sweeping manner, and set in their true evolutionary environment in a work of some half a million words. He developed his thesis further in his 1978 book *On Human Nature* (Harvard U.P., 1978).

At first, reaction was favorable, as unbiased readers were immediately impressed, but then the attack began. Stephen J. Gould and others got to work. Wilson's assertion that human social behavior rested heavily on an evolutionarily-conditioned genetic foundation could not be allowed to pass into general currency in the academic world unchallenged and unbesmirched, especially as Wilson argued that even ethical propositions rested on genetic drives, and that, in effect, even altruistic acts originated in the need for individuals sometimes to sacrifice themselves in order that their kind – their kin, their tribe and their race – might survive in

competition with others. This sort of truth translated readily into an evolutionary and scientific justification for racial studies, and horrified Marxist egalitarians who wished members of the white races to redirect their altruism away from their own children toward the survival of the children of rival races – even to restrict their own families in order to make it possible for them to transfer wealth to help Third World races proliferate to the point that they and they alone might conceivably become the sole representatives of mankind in the future. Wilson did not say any of this, but the implications of his theories were both logical and obvious. Hence he was soon attacked by egalitarian activists in the academic media, and shouted down by Marxist activists when he attempted to speak to the public. His call for eugenic-oriented action ("for precise steering based on biological knowledge," and for "the removal of ethics from the hands of philosophers and its transfer to biologists") was met with cries of protest. *Time* magazine (Aug. 1, 1977) described his views as a "reactionary political doctrine disguised as science," and Wilson soon began to complain about intimidation from activists on his own Harvard University campus.

Eventually, in February 1978, after patiently listening to critics attempting to denigrate his views during a day long panel discussion on sociobiology sponsored by the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Washington D.C., Wilson rose to respond – only to be confronted by a group of Leftist demonstrators who yelled epithets such as "Fascist," "Nazi," "Racist," and "Sexist" at him, and finally poured a bucket of water over his head, to cries of, "You're all wet, Wilson". Such activities make amusing reading, and may be appropriate at an innocent student romp, but they do not contribute to the advancement of science when allowed at one of the nation's pre-eminent scholarly gatherings, nor do they encourage other scholars to express their views on the questions raised by Wilson in an objective and unbiased way.

Richard J. Herrnstein

Like Eysenck and Jensen – who both strongly believe that all individuals should have equality of opportunity – professor R. J. Herrnstein, chairman of the department of psychology at Harvard, has been labelled a "racist" and "fascist" simply because he dared to express the conclusion that intelligence is primarily inherited. This he did in an article in *The Atlantic Monthly* entitled "IQ" (September, 1971), which subsequently became the basis of his vitally

important book *IQ and the Meritocracy* (Atlantic-Little Brown, 1971), and again in article "IQ and Falling Birth Rates" (May, 1989). What is more, Leftist attempts such as those of Barry Mehler, which seek to portray hereditarian scientists as the heirs to an anti-semitic "WASP" element in American society, are shown to be absurd when the numerous scholars of Jewish descent, such as Hans Eysenck, Richard Herrnstein, Michael Levin, and Seymour Itzkoff all of whom have expressed their concern about the possibility of dysgenic trends in our society, are taken into consideration.

Herrnstein points to very simple facts, e.g., that a review of the literature indicates that a child who scored better than 75% of his classmates at the age of eight would also be likely to score better than 75% of his classmates at the age of 15. Such a child would be likely to retain this relationship with his peers throughout his life.

Since one's status in life often depends upon schooling, there tends to be a close relationship between IQ and occupation. Those groups which are considered to be at the upper-level of the socioeconomic ladder, such as accountants, doctors, lawyers and professors tend to have higher IQs than manual laborers and to be better rewarded financially.

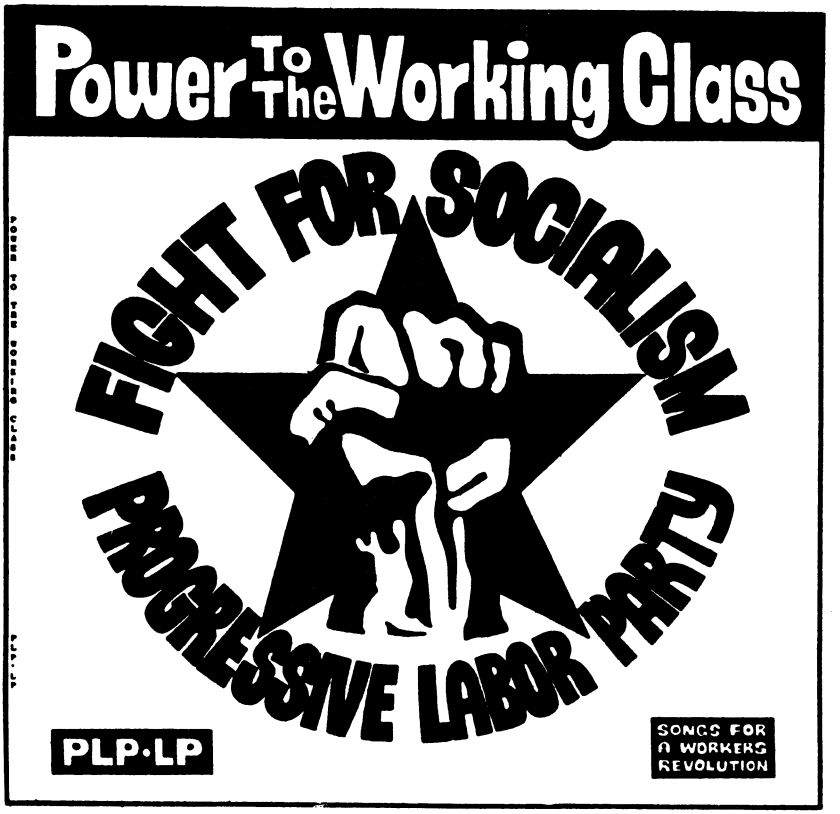
Although not all people of high IQ succeed in life, those with low IQ will seldom if ever enter the ranks of the professionals. Thus, Herrnstein holds, IQ tests strongly indicate an individual's prospects at school, in the workplace, and even as to future income and life expectancy. Individuals with low IQ are likely to remain on the lower rungs of the socioeconomic ladder, whereas those with higher IQs have a good chance to climb that ladder.

As a liberal, Herrnstein found this information disconcerting. Despite efforts at "compensatory education," those with low IQ tended to remain in the lower levels of academic and workplace achievement. To the extent that IQ is genetically determined (since race is a product of heredity – and races are simply large "gene pools"), it is to be expected that races will reveal statistical differences in IQs when compared as groups. Genetically-influenced traits, including such physiological characteristics as skin thickness, blood group patterns, length of limbs, susceptibility to various diseases and so on, are all likely to differ – and in fact do differ – from one racial group to another. Because persons tend to marry others within the same achieved socioeconomic status, Herrnstein perceived the unavoidable evolution of what he called "the specter of meritocracy."

Medieval feudal systems, by retarding social mobility, tended to keep the more intelligent members of society in the particular social group into which they were born. The resulting caste-like structure of society meant that the more intelligent members of the lower socioeconomic groups could not move upwards and so deprive the gene pool into which they were born of their superior genes. This social rigidity meant that the lower income groups tended to retain levels of intelligence potentially equal to those of the higher socioeconomic groups. By contrast, contemporary Western society offers equality of opportunity through free schooling, scholarships and student loans for higher education. Thus, the more intelligent are today tending to move out of the lower socioeconomic groups into the professional ranks, with the result that the modern socioeconomic classes will tend to become a genetically stratified meritocracy.

Herrnstein conceived of a meritocracy as a society in which status and role were determined by ability rather than by religion or inheritance – a society in which equal opportunity allows every individual a chance to achieve the role he or she is best suited to perform. Because of assortative mating – the tendency of those of high intelligence to marry others from their own socioeconomic group, and for those of low intelligence to do likewise – and because intelligence is primarily genetic in origin, Herrnstein concluded that human society is tending toward a genetically structured class (or caste-like) system, with families tending to remain in the same position on the social ladder from generation to generation.

Although in his *Atlantic Monthly* 1971 article entitled "IQ," Herrnstein spoke only of the tendency of the more intelligent to move upwards into higher socio-economic classes, and made no mention of the racial issue, he was soon classed as a "racist" simply because blacks were more numerous among the lower socio-economic groups. Claiming agnosticism on the subject of black-white differences and writing primarily about IQ differences among whites did not protect him from charges of racism. Since race is purely a matter of genetics, his critics correctly deduced that if IQ is largely inherited, there will be racial differences in IQ – although these will not be so apparent in the U.S. because the broad spectrum of the population that is classed as "white" includes persons who are in fact partially black in their inheritance (imagine an attempt to divide the population of New Orleans arbitrarily into



The study of behavioral genetics, and indeed any scholarly debate concerning the link between heredity and human ability, has been consistently denigrated by faculty members who espouse Marxist or allied "existentialist" or "deconstructionist" philosophies. It has also been stridently denounced by political Marxist organizations such as the Progressive Labor Party, who delight in labelling scholars who report the findings of such research as "fascists" and "racists." This reflects a continuance of scientific Ludditism and of the Stalinist-Lysenko tradition. Besides preserving the basic Marxist myth of egalitarianism, it also serves to promote class-hatred against the more creative members of free-enterprise societies.

"blacks" and "whites"). Likewise, many of the more successful blacks perceptually reveal the evidence of white genes in their ancestry. Yet despite the careful scholarship with which Herrnstein presented his thesis, *The New York Times* on November 2, 1973 referred to the "racist teachings of such sociologists [sic] as Richard J. Herrnstein, William H. Shockley and Arthur Jensen." Also, Herrnstein could not avoid criticism from the Marxists – to which the media gave generous attention. Thus, the Oct. 17, 1973, *The Minnesota Daily Times* published a letter by Jillayne Holter, an affiliate of the Marxist Students for a Democratic Society, alleging that:

> Richard Herrnstein contends that black people are genetically inferior to whites by claiming that people who are born poor are genetically inferior in intelligence and other qualities ... Racism has always been used to justify oppression and divide the working class [just how she ties this last Marxist concept in with Herrnstein is not explained]. As long as racism exists, black and white working class people will be unable to fight for anything. As students here at the university, we must get together and demand that Herrnstein's theories are only taught critically, or not taught at all.

This is an interesting passage, as it reveals the class warfare concept as the only basis for its argument (e.g. scientific conclusions about IQ and race are wrong because they would destroy the unity of the working classes in their Marxist-defined struggle against their employers), and also because Herrnstein simply does not think or write in terms of race.

Herrnstein never condemned the concept of equality – which was touted as the excuse for guillotining the French aristocracy during the French Revolution – as dysgenic. He never praised the aristocracy which had for centuries governed a Europe that produced the great works of art and great scientific, literary and philosophical achievements so casually dismissed by Marxist writers as "the b... s... about Western Civilization." Herrnstein merely pointed out that equal opportunity, combined with the reality of the genetic component in IQ, was likely to produce "the specter" of a caste-like "meritocracy." Indeed, Herrnstein distanced himself from eugenic, aristocratic or 'racist' views, although he did recognize the fact that intelligence differed between races and between social classes, and that the higher socioeconomic groups

in the modern Western world are failing to reproduce themselves, while the "welfare mothers" (of generally below average IQ) were heavily over-reproducing themselves.

In his 1971 *Atlantic Monthly* article, Herrnstein quoted the then Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, who had expressed similar concerns. In Singapore, the more intelligent young Chinese women were entering the professions instead of marrying and producing children. This prompted Prime Minister Lee to forecast that "levels of competence will decline, our economy will falter, our administration will suffer, and society will decline."

Herrnstein continued:

> Much research suggests that the less intelligent people are, the less they are likely, on the average, to be influenced by the delayed consequences of their [sexual and procreative] behavior. Women from the higher social strata – and more-intelligent women – are also likely to have fewer children because they are more likely to find rewarding occupations other than, and competing with, motherhood. Societies that manage to keep women subjugated while industrializing should, according to this theory, avoid or reduce the qualitative effect of the demographic transition. Their women – especially their advantaged women – should have more children relative to the historical norms of their society than comparable women in other industrialized societies ... Are brighter women, in fact, having fewer children than less bright women in the United States? ... The best, albeit still tentative, estimates imply about a one-point drop per generation over the population as a whole, other things being equal. The decline would be larger in the black population than in the white, because black women show a steeper fertility differential in relation to IQ. Using historical estimates of overall American birth rates, Vining tentatively infers the equivalent of a four-to-five-point drop in IQ over the five or six generations spanning the demographic transition in the United States, with only the Baby Boom generation's IQ not dropping. This may not seem like much, but the drop is large if we consider the 'tails' of the distribution of intelligence and not just its average. For example, a five-point drop in the average, if the distribution of scores has the 'normal' (that is, the familiar bell-curve) shape, would result in almost a 60 percent reduction in the fraction of the population with IQ scores above 130. It may be the tails of the distribution, more than the average, that we should be

worrying about.

Later, in April 1982, Herrnstein chose to attack the misconceptions spread by the media concerning IQ testing and heredity in another article published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, entitled "IQ Testing and the Media." While this attracted considerable attention it did not stop the media from continuing to misrepresent scholarly research in these areas, and had no impact whatsoever on the reluctance of schools and school districts in areas of mixed races to allow ability tests of their students. It would seem that schools with low performing students are the most reluctant to permit scholars to investigate their pupils' IQs.

As a result of expressing his own carefully thought-out opinions publicly, Herrnstein has been attacked by conscious and unconscious agents of the Far Left, as well as by those liberals who preferred not to hear bad news, and whose stalwart conviction was that for so long as they heard, saw or spoke no evil, no evil would exist. Herrnstein was condemned by others simply because he was a messenger who carried bad news, presumably on the grounds that even if it were true, he should not have publicized it. Yet, by others he was condemned because his statements might stimulate less liberal minds than his to think further about the subject, and reach conclusions of a more directly eugenic nature.

Although never physically assaulted, Herrnstein was persuaded by his family to cancel a scheduled presentation at an AAAS meeting in San Francisco (AAAS Proceedings, "Problems of Forbidden Knowledge") in reaction to threats made against his life.

Thomas J. Bouchard

The University of Minnesota twin studies project is the most extensive and thorough research program ever conducted on the degree of similarity of identical twins reared apart in separate environments. Since identical twins by definition have an identical genetic heritage, they provide incontrovertible evidence that not only enables us to determine the extent of genetic influence on various physical, physiological and personality attributes, but even indicates what attributes are the most heavily influenced by environmental forces. Such studies reveal accurately the extent to which genes determine various aspects of physiological and mental development. Some qualities, such as blood groups, are determined 100% by heredity, but other qualities, including intelligence,

are clearly influenced by environmental factors.

The results of the Minnesota project as conducted to date have been published in numerous scholarly journals, and also well popularized in the media, although not always in language which clearly reveals their significance. Yet in the early days of the project, Professor Thomas J. Bouchard, its co-director, was pilloried by SDS activists on his campus to the point that at one time it seemed as though the disruptive tactics of these students might force cancellation of the project. Leftist scholars denounced the twin studies in the most scholarly guise they could muster. But they had picked on a dedicated scientist, and a university whose administrators were prepared to stand firm in the defense of the goals of science and the principle of academic freedom.

Indeed, it was at Minnesota that some of the disruptions referred to by Sandra Scarr and quoted in our preface took place. Slogans accusing Professor Bouchard of being a "Nazi" were spray painted on walls around the campus (the faded remains of some of which can still be seen in places), simply because of his interest in heritability. Frequent student rallies were organized, and lectures disrupted. One SDS handout, headed "IQ TESTS = RACISM" protested in large letters that:

HERRNSTEIN AND JENSEN'S NAZI THEORIES ARE BEING TAUGHT ALL OVER THIS CAMPUS, ESPECIALLY IN BOUCHARD'S PSYCHOLOGY 5-0703

These pseudoscientists have been refuted many times. They emphasize the existence of social problems such as unemployment are not the result of capitalism, but rather stem from inherent deficiencies in the intelligence of the victims, especially suppressed minorities.

These theories of racial inferiority, despite their academic garb, do not differ in their "scientific" character or their social effects from those advanced by American slave owners, the Nazis or the advocates of apartheid in South Africa. Racist ideas, if it were not for their political and economic role in the justification of oppression and exploitation, would long since have been relegated to the graveyard of false ideas.

Coffmann Union NOON 4th OCT.
Sponsored by SDS and PLP

Another SDS handout read:

SDS SAYS: Goodbye Bouchard!
Racists like you have to go

Racism is a disease that will not disappear by itself. The fight against German fascism proved that once and for all. Today we face a similar battle with Professor Bouchard, and anyone else who seeks to blame the victims for their problems ... We Therefore Demand That The Only Acceptable Solution To This Problem Is The Immediate And Unconditional Firing of Professor Bouchard from The University of Minnesota.

Other SDS brochures invited students to:

Join the Picket Line!

RACIST THEORIES TAUGHT IN "U" CLASS!

Since US imperialist policy is being exposed throughout the world, e.g. Indonesia and the Middle East, the U.S. ruling class needs these Racist theories to attack ALL working people to justify a rapidly declining living standard in the U.S. ... Students should unite and stop these Racist theories from being taught on this campus.

However, the administration at the University of Minnesota stood firm behind the project, and as a result the program has now received international acclaim and will surely be remembered, for the reasons given in our concluding chapter, as a landmark turning point in the history not only of psychology and behavioral genetics, but of all the social sciences, since its findings must ultimately revolutionize all humanistic studies and even social philosophy.

Michael Levin

Conversely, a case of academic authorities bending to student pressure, organized by radical activists, occurred at the City College of the City University of New York. Whereas the City College once had a predominantly white faculty and a predominantly white student body, immigration into the New York area has brought about a situation where 70% of the faculty is still white, whereas 38% of the student body is today black, 28% Hispanic, 16% Asian, and only 17% white. The president, Bernard Harleston, is black.

The action began in 1988. Michael Levin, a faculty member of the City College, was targeted by the local branch of the Marxist International Committee Against Racism (InCAR). Levin is a respected scholar who received his Ph.D. in philosophy from Columbia University and has been published in leading philosophical journals. He is the author of *Metaphysics and the Mind-Body Problem* and *Feminism and Freedom*, holds the rank of full professor, and is tenured.

Professor Levin's problems first arose when he and his wife (who teaches at Yeshiva University) wrote a joint letter to *The New York Times* protesting an editorial published in that newspaper. In essence, Levin and his philosopher wife argued that shopkeepers on the Upper East Side of Manhattan had the right to decline to unlock their doors for black males if they feared robbery. In the course of the argument they noted the *Times*' inconsistency in criticizing shop owners for penalizing possibly innocent blacks, while supporting quotas (which penalize possibly innocent whites).

The publication of Levin's letter caused an uproar among activist minority students. Although nobody denied Levin's popularity among students who took his classes, indeed among students generally, the activist leaders managed to inspire a mob protest, in the course of which the demonstrators forced themselves into the president's office by the simple expedient of breaking down his door. Confronted face to face with the activists, president Harleston concurred in their demand that academic freedom gave the students the right to picket Levin's classes (presumably the taxpayers bore the expense of repairing his door – no charges were pressed). In view of the obvious possibility of physical assault, Levin was provided with a bodyguard. All his students braved the picketers to enter his classes, and the picketing dissolved within a couple of weeks.

The picketing of Professor Levin's classes was particularly indefensible since nobody could claim that he ever introduced his personal views on race into his classes, and journalists noted that all his students admitted that he was always fair to students, regardless of their race or political views. In short, what the student activists were protesting were his views expressed outside of class – not anything he did or said in class. They were attempting to force City College to gag him not in class but in his private life off the campus. The College's unwillingness to prosecute demonstrators who clearly violated the College's own guidelines on protests amounted to collusion in this effort. Levin's freedom of speech as a private person, not just as a faculty member, was being impinged upon.

During this period, activist organizations such as InCAR widely circulated copies of the *Times* Levin letter. But what led to administrative action against Levin was the appearance of two further publications, and their circulation on the campus during the Fall of 1988 by still-unidentified parties. The first was an article in the January 1988 issue of the Australian magazine *Quadrant*. Levin had been asked to write an article on American education, and had expressed the view that its "malaise" could be traced to feminism and the lowering of academic standards to the level of the less successful minorities, so as to allow minorities to acquire academic qualifications in proportion to their numbers.

Levin's *Quadrant* piece was primarily devoted to a discussion of the views of Professor E. D. Hirsh of the University of Virginia, as presented in the 1987 book *Cultural Literacy* (Houghton Mifflin). Levin expressed the opinion that Hirsch had written a profoundly devastating critique of the failure of all forms of progressive education. Hirsch had correctly stressed the importance of a shared cultural heritage to the stability of society and the need for a sense of continuity with the past. However, Levin criticized Hirsch for failing to recognize the harm being done by radical feminism. Levin also reviewed Allan Bloom's book, *The Closing of the American Mind*, which discussed the cultural vacuum which modern education had created for college students. He criticized Bloom (a professor of philosophy at the University of Chicago) for ignoring a major cause of the failure of American higher education, which Levin identified as affirmative action. Evidently impressed by the work of Jensen and others, Levin asserted that society must face up to the fact that, "there is now quite solid

evidence that ... the average black is significantly less intelligent than the average white."

Bloom had condemned moral relativism, and had accused "humanists" of being "antiquarians, eunuchs guarding a harem of aging and now unattractive courtesans." Accepting these views, Levin nevertheless commented that:

> While moral relativism may contribute roles, it might be wise to look for their principal cause a little closer to earth... Bloom has already put his finger on one cause, the delegitimization of sex roles.

This statement would have caused few ripples, even though it was an attack upon Leftist feminism, but what sparked off radical leftist action was Levin's "second cause for the malaise of American education," which he declared to be "race."

> Since 1954, staggering energies have been expended to bring American Negroes into the educational mainstream. Yet they continue to exhibit disproportionately high rates of illiteracy, dropping out, absence from the more prestigious disciplines, and other forms of academic failure.

The journal *Quadrant* in which Levin's article appeared is published from Sydney, Australia, but the watchdogs of the Left are also active in Australia – as Jensen and Eysenck had discovered. Consequently nobody need be surprised that copies of this article were widely circulated among radical activists at City College. Although everyone knows that the statements Levin made were factually correct, it was soon apparent that the radical activists denied his right to communicate the truth. A new outcry was raised, with demands for action by the administration against Levin. The prime focus of attention was Levin's view that statistically blacks performed less well on IQ tests than whites or Asians.

The case against Levin was pressed by faculty activists at a meeting of the Faculty Senate on October 20, 1988, and the Senate voted to condemn Levin's article as "racist," ruling that Levin's views lacked "logical cogency or empirical support." How many of the faculty were familiar with the data on this subject we cannot say, but noted psychologists universally concede that no test has yet been devised which will enable blacks to score as well, on the

average, as whites, and that only one sixth of all blacks achieve tests scores above the white average.

Professor Levin was given only three hours notice of the fact that a censure motion was to be moved at the Faculty Senate meeting, and was not able to be present at the 'debate.' He was therefore "tried" in his absence.

Nor did the matter stop there. Five days later president Bernard W. Harleston issued a letter commending the College Faculty Senate for their resolution concerning Levin. President Harleston stated that he had been "a proud witness to the discussion and debate concerning Dr. Levin's statements." He expressed his view that the resolution reflected the commitment of that institution to the ideal of "equality." He did not enlarge upon what he meant by "equality." As Levin, who as an extremely intelligent and precise scholar would be quick to point out, equality of opportunity is one thing, finagling results to obtain an "equality of outcome" is a different matter.

The day after the Senate meeting, the dean of the humanities and the chairman of the department of philosophy met with Levin and advised him to withdraw voluntarily from teaching the introductory Philosophy 101 course. If he did not voluntarily renounce this course, he was told, the department chairman would visit the first session of Levin's class and invite the students to transfer to another section.

This was an important and very aggressive move, since introductory courses generally have a profound impact on the student's later thinking about a subject. Under this pressure, Levin agreed to give up the course, believing that the measure would be only temporary, but was later informed that the ban was permanent and would be extended to any course that students were required to take. Since students often choose to take further courses with professors they have met in required courses, that meant that Levin's ability to "recruit" students for the optional courses to which he was now restricted would be severely weakened. To make matters worse, president Harleston announced that:

> In addition, I would now propose that the Faculty Senate appoint a special faculty committee to receive, investigate and make recommendations concerning any charges of bias-related activities by faculty members.

Although at first sight the establishment of a committee to monitor "bias-related activities by faculty members" does not seem to be extreme, the circumstances of its creation clearly indicated that it was intended either as a smokescreen to placate activists, or as a very real police body to suppress the expression of unpopular opinions and in particular to restrict Levin's writing and publishing. Whichever it might be, one may safely assume that those who would press to serve on such a committee would include a heavy proportion of activists who would welcome the opportunity to exercise thought control that such a committee offered. More fair-minded scholars who have less strong political motivation would be likely to be among those less interested in giving time to "thought police" activities.

The absurdity of the City College situation was outlined by Professor Robert Gordon of Johns Hopkins University in a letter to the New York *Newsday* which read as follows:

> To the Editor:
>
> As an alumnus of CCNY and a social scientist well acquainted with research on the causes and consequences of the black-white IQ difference, I am appalled by my alma mater's mistreatment of Philosophy Professor Michael Levin, as described in Ilene Barth's column ["Nothing's Black & White at City College," Nov. 13]. Just a few facts are sufficient to demonstrate the seriousness of this latest assault on academic freedom and truth.
>
> First, in the U.S. the difference between blacks and whites in average IQ has remained virtually constant, at 18 Stanford-Binet IQ points, for 60 years. Second, no less an authority than the National Academy of Sciences has, in the words of the *Washington Post* [March 3, 1982], "strongly rejected charges that standardized tests discriminate against blacks, even though blacks on the average score far below whites on almost all of the exams." Third, even though some academics have tried to obscure the importance of these facts, researchers find that IQ and similar tests measure what most people understand by the term "intelligence." Fourth, IQ tests are an excellent predictor of scholastic performance, so Levin was on solid ground when he criticized two recent books on the shortcomings of education in the U.S. for ignoring the impact of race differences in IQ and the equally large differences in school achievement that they predict. Fifth, although Levin clearly used the term "intelligence" in the modern sense, which does not automatically attribute the black-white IQ

difference to genetic causes, even if he had asserted a role for genetics in explaining that stubborn difference, he would have been in agreement with 53% of the experts according to a recently published survey of social scientists, which also reported that only 17% denied a role to genetics. Clearly, when such a widely-shared scientific opinion has to surface under cover of anonymity, something is seriously amiss in academe, and the symptoms are nowhere more in evidence than at CCNY.

Like many philosophers whose professional concern is with how real knowledge is acquired, Levin is committed to maintaining the intellectual integrity of the sciences, in his case, the social sciences, and so they follow developments in their chosen fields of science closely. Levin is certainly not the first philosopher to discuss the black-white IQ difference in print; Michael Scriven and Peter Urbach both have and their positions were consistent with Levin's, yet neither was abused or threatened at their institutions. And, of course, philosophers on the other side state and teach what they wish with impunity.

I find it Orwellian, therefore, that the Philosophy Department in which I once learned respect for John Stuart Mill's "On Liberty" should have removed Levin as teacher of a required course over this matter, apparently pandering to mob action, and that the Academic Senate at CCNY, most members of which certainly do not know one-hundredth as much as Levin about the evidence concerning IQ differences, should have hypocritically alluded to Mill's teachings in hastily condemning Levin, thus continuing to foster the intimidating atmosphere that nowadays robs academic life of its natural attractiveness for many able but honest people. Should this matter have to be resolved in the courts, the taxpayers of New York may end up footing the bill for the ideological extravaganza at CCNY, since the weight of expert opinion is clearly consistent with Levin's position, which he has every right, and even the obligation, to state in any case.

If our nation is to deal rationally with the awkward but extremely consequential fact of group differences in various mental abilities, which are the rule rather than the exception, and not tear itself apart instead in an ideological frenzy, future leaders of all races are going to have to learn about those differences and how to ponder their implications in a civil and mutually respectful manner. Toward that end, rare academics like Levin represent courageous role models. It remains to be seen whether our institutions of higher learning are worthy of such teachers.

Sincerely yours, Robert A. Gordon, Professor

To the credit of the Faculty Senate, it refused to form an investigative committee, on the ground that the existence of such a committee would have a "chilling effect" on free speech. Nonetheless, during this period Harleston tried several times to induce faculty governance bodies to form such a committee, and in interviews in both campus and New York newspapers expressed frustration at his inability to break Levin's tenure and fire him.

Levin was apparently not intimidated by Harleston's gestures, since he continued to draw attention to the link between affirmative action and erroneous views about black intelligence. His professional association, the American Philosophical Association, had concluded from a survey of its membership that blacks were seriously under-represented among philosophers. In January 1990 Levin published a letter in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Association* arguing that this under-representation was due to the intellectual demands of philosophy, combined with the black IQ deficit. Again, parties not so far identified circulated this letter around campus. Immediately thereafter, in early February 1990, the humanities dean sent a letter to each of Levin's students alerting them to the fact that their instructor held "controversial" views about race and sex and announcing the formation of a parallel section of his course for anyone who wished to avoid him. Not to be denied now, Harleston announced the formation of a presidential committee to see whether Levin's statements constituted "conduct unbecoming a faculty member." It was notable that this phrase is precisely the one that customarily triggers procedures to break tenure; it was also notable that three of the seven members appointed to Harleston's committee had previously signed a petition to the effect that Levin's views rendered him unfit to teach. Harleston began to look anything but unbiased. Indeed, when a March 1990 mob invaded Levin's classroom and disrupted his lecture, Harleston praised them for their "restraint."

But what underlined the evidence of political bias in the actions of the administration against Michael Levin was its weak reaction to the openly racist activities of Leonard Jeffries, the chairman of the Black Studies department. Jeffries was also a leading contributor to a team appointed by the New York State Commissioner of Education, Thomas Sobol, to propose curriculum changes (subsequently adopted) which would expose all students

to black, Asian and Latin American minority cultures.

Leonard Jeffries, in fact, is an ardent black activist who, unlike Levin, *does* make use of his classes to advance his opinions, which are supported only by a highly inaccurate understanding of reality. He is reported by Ilene Barth (New York *Newsday*, Nov. 13, 1988) to have said that "most of the CCNY's faculty is part of the process that teaches white supremacy. I am teaching the truth. Africans domesticated plants and animals, invented science and philosophy while Europeans were still living in caves"

According to Joseph Berger ("Professor's Theories on Race Stir Turmoil at City College," *The New York Times*, April 20, 1990), Jeffries also teaches that "the skin pigment melanin gives blacks intellectual and physical advantages over whites." Melanin gives physical advantages in the tropics, in protecting the skin against excessive sunshine, just as it is harmful in more extreme latitudes because it prevents absorption of sufficient sunshine, but no causal link between melanin and intelligence has ever been effectively demonstrated, or even taken seriously by research scientists. In so far as any statistical data concerning the incidence of the two is concerned, the evidence would seem to suggest that an inverse relationship may exist. Europeans, Jeffries also claims, are more materialistic and greedy than blacks.

Determined to exercise his right to academic freedom, Jeffries seemingly cares little about maintaining friendly relations with the rest of the faculty, since he lectures about the "rich Jews who financed ... the slave trade." In addition to charging that "the Jewish Holocaust is raised as the only Holocaust," he ominously – if inaccurately – tells his students that the swastika was a symbol of African origin. With 40% of the student body black, the administration has clearly chosen to follow a popular political line, and while attacking Levin it has taken no similar action against Jeffries. However, fearing that it might be accused of bias against Levin if nothing whatever were done about Jeffries, the "Levin committee" was also charged with investigating Jeffries.

At least one voice spoke for sanity, though without effect. Marcus Allison, a student associate editor of City College's publication *The Paper*, asked a reporter "What proof is there that students were discriminated against in Levin's class? The president seems to be acting on his opinion, and that's dangerous. If they can make Levin stop teaching on that basis, they could do that to anyone."

An odd comment came from faculty member Bernard Sohmer,

when he defended the faculty senate resolution condemning Levin for expressing what it called "racist sentiments." The senate resolution, Sohmer stated, did not constitute any threat to academic freedom "since what we are taking exception to were things said *out of class* [our italics]."

While Levin had never suggested that City College should refuse education to members of any race, religious affiliation, gender, sexual orientation or ethnic background (in fact he was not even writing about religious affiliation, gender, or sexual orientation), the fact is that the College action against Levin, which constituted a contravention of his right to freedom of speech *outside* the classroom was intimidating. It threatened his chances of advancement and certainly would have a "chilling effect" on Levin's willingness to exercise his freedom of speech in the future.

In Levin's case, his constitutional right to freedom of speech was endangered. While Levin's writings are based on more stable data than many of Jeffries' classroom declarations, a tenured professor traditionally has the right to make any statements in class he believes to be true, and as a citizen he has the constitutional right to express his views anywhere in his private life.

In a topsy-turvy manner, Levin's critics denied that Levin was protected by his right to academic freedom, because he had never spoken about race, intelligence or affirmative action in any of his classes. Instead, they were denying his constitutional right to freedom of speech as a private individual, and alleging that his academic freedom did not give him the right to state freely his opinions off campus. The implication was that he could be denied his job for what he said off-campus, since off-campus statements were not protected by his right to academic freedom. Professor Jeffries, by contrast, who *was* making flagrantly racist statements *in* class, was ignored on the grounds that he *was* protected by the principle of academic freedom precisely because his statements *were* made in class. Jeffries, consequently, was not condemned, but the Left demanded that Levin should be dismissed.

This inverted logic was also advanced to protect the right of activist students to demonstrate on campus. This latter is a particularly revolutionary idea, since hitherto the notion of academic freedom has been restricted to the expression of ideas, not to the harassment of faculty, the picketing of classes, or the destruction of university property.

In many ways the most revealing and disappointing aspect of

the Levin affair was the complete failure of his colleagues, or the media which covered it, to discuss the validity of Levin's views. At no point did any newspaper publish the relevant IQ data, or invite competent psychometrists to comment on it. The head of the psychology department refused Levin's invitation to debate his claims. By attacking his academic freedom and defining battle lines along academic-freedom lines, academic egalitarians once again managed to obscure the real core of the issue.

Shocked at the fact that his freedom of speech, even as a private citizen, was threatened, Levin finally resorted to legal action, and was successful in his efforts. Not every scholar, however, is endowed with the tenacity that Levin showed in the face of persecution, and he is to be honored as a defender of freedom of speech as well as of freedom of academic thought.

Vincent Sarich

The most recent example of the crucifixion of a scholar who dared to recognize racial differences occurred in November 1990. Professor Vincent Sarich, who had taught at UC Berkeley for twenty-five years, was criticized for the content of his course "Introduction to Physical Anthropology." It is well-known that Berkeley now admits students on the basis of racial quotas, and that the protestors were not students in his class but black students, most of whom had only been admitted to Berkeley in preference to better qualified non-black students. Because of the extreme heterogeneity of its population, California has made the political decision that the prestigious University of California system will henceforth admit students on a quota basis reflecting the respective ratios of the various ethnic groups in the overall population of the state.

Large numbers of bright Asian and white students, refused admission to the University of California system, are today entering the less prestigious California State University system, and it has been forecast that the mantle of superiority will in due course be transferred from the UC system to the California State system because of the change in the quality of the students admitted to each. Of course, the California authorities may yet extend the racial quota to include the State Universities, but unless it does so, it seems that despite financial allocations which favor the UC system, public attitudes will begin to recognize that graduates from the State system are as bright if not brighter than those from the

University of California.

UC Berkeley professor Vincent Sarich is guilty of having breached "political correct" taboos by speaking the truth: "Levels of qualification ... preparation and motivation are not randomly distributed [in today's Berkeley] with respect to race and ethnicity." Berkeley's reputation would suffer as a result of this policy, he claimed. Thousands of white and Asian students who have perfect 4.0 grade-point averages and high test scores have been refused admission to Berkeley in favor of less well qualified minority students in accordance with the new political policy. The result has been a renewal of student political demonstrations based on the belief of those who participate that reasoned logic can be overcome by aggressiveness and bullying behavior.

Black and Hispanic students, Sarich said, on average differ from white and Asian students "by about four years of achievement." According to the *Washington Times* (November 11, 1990), Sarich claimed "that relative to the average college student, white and Asian students are operating at the college junior level while blacks and Hispanics are operating at something like the high school junior level. It gives us a two-tiered campus."

Sarich acknowledges that race and sex may predetermine ability, and to disprove him some 75 blacks decided on November 7, 1990, to invade his anthropology classroom and demand that the University muzzle him. As one protestor argued, "*Sarich may be right on some of these things, but he shouldn't be allowed to teach them.*" The protestor's view reflects an unusual interpretation of what constitutes scholarship.

What concerns Professor Sarich the most is that "although I have gotten a large number of communications from my colleagues supportive of my views, I haven't heard any of them come out in public and say this. They are scared." Furthermore, he observes, many of his colleagues are now "censoring their own classes" in order to avoid "controversial" comments. Some of the students who have been admitted to Berkeley on the basis of reverse discrimination have ideas about what the academic pursuit of knowledge is all about that are quite different from those held by the professors who are employed to teach them to recognize reality when they see it. Or perhaps reality is to them what you can get by intimidating career officials in positions of public authority. That kind of social participation may work well for radical activist students, but it is a frightening attitude when one reflects on its implications for

posterity, since it impinges so severely upon the effectiveness of the United States educational system.

9 / ACADEME, THE MEDIA AND PUBLIC POLICY

It would be wrong to attribute the serious situation in academe entirely to the role of the media in publicizing the unscientific biased views of Far Left scholars as though these represented the consensus of scholarly thought. There can be no doubt that Western academe, especially outside the "hard sciences," is heavily infected by a Lysenko-like form of Jean Paul Sartre Marxist-existentialism. Sartre manages to reconcile existentialist repudiation of all substantive knowledge and all forms of group order by presenting Marxism in its most imaginative form, where the proletariat having gained its freedom lives happily in perfect democratic equality. This influence is particularly apparent in the social sciences, history, literature, philosophy and even in certain modern language departments. The infection is especially marked in departments of education, and dominates far too many departments of journalism.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that University administrators are usually men and women with strong personal ambitions who, finding themselves in a high-profile occupation, are very susceptible to the desire to keep their slates clean and to respond sympathetically to attacks by determined and vociferous student groups. Many are the socialist-minded "angry young men and women" of the sixties and seventies, who preferred to stay in the safe bureaucratic world of higher education rather than to venture into the competitive world of private enterprise which lies beyond academe. Too rare, indeed, are the administrators who see it as their duty to risk their careers by defending academic freedom against determined and organized radical protests, especially when these lead to unwanted and critical press publicity.

The attitude of the media is particularly to blame for weakening the will of university administrators to defend research into behavioral genetics. The level of public media attention given to academic researchers who advance what are popularly known as "hereditarian" theories was noted by two scholars, Mark Snyderman and Stanley Rothman, who had already detected media bias in various fields. Much of the media treatment extended to scholars who queried the biological equality of mankind seemed to be so

consistently negative – often amounting to outright derogation – that these two researchers decided to examine the question of media bias systematically and objectively in order to reveal the truth. The result was a book already referred to several times in this text, entitled *The IQ Controversy: The Media and Public Policy* (Transaction Books, 1988). Of the authors, Mark Snyderman is a Harvard educated psychologist, and Stanley Rothman is the Mary Huggins Gamble professor of government at Smith College and director of the Smith College Center for the Study of Social and Political Change. Rothman was already familiar with the American media – having co-authored a book entitled *The Media Élite* (S.R. Lichter, S. Rothman and Linda S. Lichter, Adler and Adler, 1986) – and the exceptional nature of the treatment afforded to "hereditarian" scholars by the media readily aroused his curiosity.

Approaching their topic in a methodical fashion, the two researchers decided that it was first necessary to determine prevailing expert academic opinion concerning the concept of IQ and the validity of IQ tests. Thus the first few chapters of their book provide a very useful introduction to the literature available on the nature of IQ, on the heritability of IQ, and on race and class. Contrary to media reports in general, they found a consensus among academics concerning such topics as the general utility of IQ tests in predicting performance in the educational world and in the non-academic workplace, even though the true nature of intelligence is still undetermined.

Next they undertook an overview of public attitudes toward intelligence testing, and in this they uncovered some interesting facets which are not normally considered in current attacks on "hereditarians." When the Protestant ethic was still dominant in America, popular ideology held strongly to the belief that every individual had the ability – in a free democratic society such as the U.S. – to determine his or her own future. Ability and initiative were believed to guarantee their own rewards, and even the more liberal members of the American community then supported intelligence testing in this light. If a man had the ability, the American Dream held that in a free society he could rise from poverty to riches. The emphasis was on freedom and individual achievement.

However, American public attitudes began to change in the post-World War II years, as the size of these minorities grew and America became less of a homogeneous North European society,

which tolerated the presence of a few minorities who generally accepted the dominance of the British, German, Dutch and Scandinavian descended Protestant "majority." A struggle to wrest political control emerged, with increasing emphasis upon past wrongs imposed on minority groups and on the politics of "civil rights." The growing size of the minority component of the population gave this element political significance, and the media rode to power on the back of the "civil rights" movement, achieving a new political significance in its now demonstrated ability to influence American politics.

These developments profoundly shaped the way in which the media chose to report scientific information to the public – especially when that information affected minorities and the political sensibilities of the American public. Indeed, Rothman and the Lichters had already mentioned this factor in *The Media Élite*, noting that "the rise to prominence of a powerful national media was significantly influenced by the coverage of the civil rights movement, in which the media's role as 'patrons of the oppressed' had a substantial effect on the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964."

Snyderman and Rothman determined that in the 1960's American attitudes toward intelligence testing began to change significantly, especially in the eyes of those who determined the course the media should follow. Any reference to racial differences in intelligence was now deemed antithetical to the self-actualization of minorities and the program for racial integration – tied as this was to the view that inferior minority performance was solely due to past discrimination and resulting environmental handicaps. In particular, since the justification for affirmative action and ethnic quotas is rooted in the theory of the biological equality of the races, it was necessary to allege that racial differences in IQ were the product of environmental differences, and not in any way due to genetic causes.

In these circumstances, journalists, editorialists and newsmen developed a distaste for academic research that undermined the belief that all individuals could rise above their environment if only they had the opportunity, and publishers feared to anger the increasingly more influential and numerous minorities by giving anything but unfavorable publicity to 'hereditarian' academic theories. Furthermore, it proved much more newsworthy to report advances in scientific research which undermined egalitarianism in

a politicized and sensational, negative fashion, instead of simply reporting them in a detached or neutral manner.

To provide data against which to test their hypotheses, the authors conducted two major surveys. They put a team of researchers onto the task of combing through the vast quantity of media comments relating to the IQ dispute between the years 1969 and 1983, which were then exhaustively analyzed for bias, and they further conducted an extensive survey of expert academic opinion on the many aspects of the IQ controversy. Their research workers carefully perused back issues of such leading opinion-makers as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *The Wall Street Journal*, and virtually all weekly magazines as well as the majority of TV and radio news programs. In some cases, news items about IQ testing were reported without bias. In general, however, Snyderman and Rothman found that the media reported negatively on "hereditarian" views of IQ but repeatedly gave favorable publicity to the few who still maintained that the undeniable gap between the ability of different races to perform well in IQ tests was due to some undefined form of "cultural bias" inherent in these tests. In fact the media tended to give prominence to the comments of a small minority of extremists, often open Marxists, who adhered to scientific Luddite positions, in opposition to the view of the majority of psychologists that the ability to perform in IQ tests is predominantly influenced by heredity.

Furthermore, the Snyderman and Rothman study revealed that the media frequently went so far as to imply that IQ testing was "immoral" in that it prejudiced employers and government against individuals with low IQ. The media frequently stressed the possibility of misclassification and sponsored debates on the prejudicial "should IQ tests be permitted?" theme. Here they were following the initiative of Stephen Jay Gould, as advanced in *The Mismeasure of Man*.

The prime purpose of IQ testing in schools is to help guide students into levels of study they can handle. It can draw attention to the special needs of those who are not so bright, so that they can receive the attention they need. The proper utilization of the huge sums that are spent in America on remedial education for the less intelligent is dependent upon the use of IQ tests as much as on the subjective impressions of school teachers. This is particularly the case in schools where the overall ability of the students is low, for in such cases unless there is some objective standard of measure-

ment there is a tendency for teachers (who are unfortunately not always too competent themselves) to subjectively grade students "on a curve," taking the class average as the norm – even when the class average is well below the national norm.

Snyderman and Rothman's media survey found that out of 39 articles or TV/radio broadcasts which debated whether IQ testing unfairly prejudices the future of students, 26 were slanted to support the thesis that it did, while none conclusively opposed that thesis. Indeed, many actually criticized IQ testing on the ground that it "promoted racism."

Snyderman and Rothman found that many media articles and broadcasts had gone so far as to portray scholars such as Professor Arthur Jensen of Berkeley as "racists," with the survey revealing a total of seventeen references to him as a "racist." Remembering that in 1984 William Shockley spent some $80,000 suing the *Atlanta Constitution* for describing him as having "Nazi" views – and won his case but was awarded only a token $1 damages and no expenses – there is little that public-spirited scholars whose lives, reputations and careers are blighted in this way can do to defend themselves against such persecution.

Among the large-circulation weekly magazines, *Time* magazine was found to have been one of the worst offenders in misrepresenting scholarly opinion. Attacking Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone for his statement that America was being held back by its less intelligent minority groups, the *Time* article (October 6, 1986) made the inaccurate and totally ungrounded statement that most scholars today believe that intelligence and achievement differences stem largely from environmental factors, and represented Leon Kamin and Stephen J. Gould as typical examples of mainstream expert opinion on the subject of the heritability of IQ. Not only did this sweeping statement *reverse* the truth, but it was set in a context that left the reader believing that the influence of genetic factors was too small to be worth considering.

Of equal interest, and possibly of more academic significance, was Snyderman and Rothman's survey of the opinions of some 661 psychologists who responded to an elaborate questionnaire and who were all genuinely to be regarded as experts in the field of IQ testing. As the most exhaustive and reliable survey of expert scholarly opinion on the issue, the results provide less qualified persons – and this should include the writers, publishers and

program planners of the media – with a reliable source from which to quote scholastic opinion in the future. The study also provided the researchers with a base-line from which to assess the extent of media bias in the past.

The questionnaire identified five sources of evidence that indicated the importance of genetic factors in determining an individual's ability to perform IQ tests efficiently. Of the 661 experts who answered the questionnaire, no less than 94 percent identified one or more of these reasons as being persuasive evidence of the genetic "hypothesis." No less than 84 percent identified twin studies as demonstrating the heritability of intelligence along with other personality factors. Opinions as to the relative importance of heredity as opposed to environment in determining inheritance were not so unanimous. Nevertheless, the analysis of all responses indicated that the "experts" on the average believed that 60 percent of the racial variability in IQ was due to genetic factors. A plurality of those responding to the question as to whether the IQ gap of 15 percentage points that separates black and white Americans is primarily due to genetic components answered affirmatively, thus supporting the views of "hereditarians" such as Arthur Jensen, who have so frequently been portrayed by the media as biased loners.

One revealing conclusion reached by the authors after careful analysis of the data points to the power of the media not only to influence public opinion, and hence legislation, but also to influence the pronouncements and even the choice of areas of research by academics. In an environment in which education and educational research are dependent upon government or upon gifts from corporations or tax-exempt foundations, suggestions that their research is immoral will not only cause funding to dry up, but may also place the researcher in disfavor with the institution that employs him. Academic tenure protects the more senior scholars to some extent, but in an economic venue of creeping inflation the prospect of incurring the displeasure of an administration which was embarrassed by adverse media publicity, and of having to live off a salary which had been frozen by that administration, has a highly intimidating impact on faculty members. An unpopular faculty member can also be shut off from grants for travel to scholarly meetings and from finance for the research on which his professional reputation depends. Untenured junior scholars are in an even more vulnerable position, and can be

forced out of the academic field altogether for publishing controversial opinions instead of remaining "politically correct" until they have secured tenure. Even academic giants such as Arthur Jensen have had to face attempts by their opponents to have their salaries frozen – a move which was resisted by Jensen's dean, who as a black scholar set an admirable example to less courageous white administrators and won well-deserved acclaim for his defense of academic values and freedom. Outstanding examples of such pressures are the restrictions that were placed on professors Rushton and Gottfredson.

With such examples of the power of the media before them, it is no wonder that many scholars cautiously avoid expressing opinions or engaging in research which is likely to attract unwanted media publicity. This is illustrated by the answers given by the 661 expert psychologists to Snyderman and Rothman's question about their reaction to Jensen's research and writings on IQ and racial differences in personality. While other questions showed that the experts fairly solidly agreed with Jensen's conclusions, this question revealed that his popularity was not nearly as high as might be expected. Snyderman and Rothman concluded that psychologists in general agreed with Jensen and Herrnstein but were embarrassed by the undesirable media attention their research and pronouncements had attracted toward the subject. They felt uneasy under the resulting, hostile media scrutiny, and preferred that the subject of race and intelligence be left unexplored so that they would not have the press, or even their students, asking them their own opinion on the subject. Fear of persecution was deeply entrenched. In such circumstances, evasion is a perfectly human reaction.

Snyderman and Rothman exposed in a single extensive survey the power of intimidation exercised by radical activists when supported by the media. The danger is that evasion and cowardice leave intact the politically motivated and inaccurate "social science" testimony which has been used, and is still being used, as the basis for legislative and legal decisions that today affect not only educational policy but almost every aspect of economic, social and even private life in the United States, Canada, Britain and so many other Western countries which in recent times have become ethnically diverse.

The drive behind the use of inaccurate "scientific" data on the subject of heredity is political, and unless scientists are prepared to

speak their minds freely and make the truth as they find it known to the public, it will not be possible to change this situation. Certainly where Marxist scholars are concerned one is tempted to suspect that there is a conviction on their part that, to paraphrase Clausewitz, academic research has become politics under another guise. Snyderman and Rothman did not go so far as to examine the motivation behind the Marxists who continually snipe at independently-minded scholars from inside the academic fortress, but they did draw attention to the role of the media in publicizing the views of Marxist scholars as though they represented "established" academic opinion – while portraying those who conducted research which revealed the strong genetic component to human behavior as prejudiced fools and "academic racists."

Reviewing Snyderman and Rothman's book *The I.Q. Controversy: The Media and Public Policy* in *Commentary* (Feb. 18, 1988, p.26), Daniel Seligman bravely stressed the Marxist orientation of the main anti-hereditarian activists in academe. While scholars who have pointed to the role of heredity in shaping human behavior are regularly accused of racist bias, their critics, Seligman points out, very often *are* biased. In Seligman's own words:

> Scholars who have elaborated the genetic case for a wide audience – the most famous is Arthur Jensen – have not only been characterized as extremists but have been smeared as racists ... Meanwhile, Leon Kamin of Princeton keeps being cited (in the *Time* article on Nakasone, for example, and in a CBS special report on "The I.Q. Myth") as a respected authority figure. Kamin, it happens, really *is* an extremist. A Marxist who views IQ as an instrument of class oppression, he is almost alone among academics in arguing that environmental differences may well explain all IQ variation.

Seligman also identifies Gould as "another Marxist who is cited endlessly by the media, [who] has written that 'the chimerical nature of *g* is the rotten core of Jensen's edifice'." Commenting that some "highly vocal" critics now actually argue that group differences in IQ *should not be studied at all*, Seligman notes that such arguments are often set in an openly Marxist framework "with the [IQ-]testers cast as agents of a ruling class aiming to keep minorities and the poor in their place." To support this allegation he cites the 1986 meeting of the American Psychological Associa-

tion, at which one participant argued that it was wrong to engage in "research that serves anti-egalitarian purposes," likening such studies to "hereditarian research performed by the Nazis."

In short, Seligman concluded that "in an academic environment swarming with researchers who would give an arm to prove test bias, studies persistently fail to find its existence at any significant level." Consequently, he says, the truth is only kept in check by "Cheap shots featuring the Nazis [that] have become a recurring problem for any scholar studying group differences in IQ."

The general media bias revealed by Snyderman and Rothman has been undeniable over the past three decades, although in the late 60s media reports that accurately recorded the results of research into behavioral genetics were still to be found. Indeed, commenting under the heading "Review and Outlook: Endangered House of Intellect," on May 4, 1972, *The Wall Street Journal* actually acknowledged the anti-hereditarian bias in the academic world, stating that "intimidation and suppression are at work within the university community itself, most spectacularly in the harassment of Jensen, Herrnstein and Shockley for holding unpopular views on various aspects of the question of intelligence and race." Author Seligman continued:

> Indeed, a sociology professor at Sacramento State College invited Dr. Shockley to speak to her class, only to have it disrupted by hostile students, then to find the college president and acting dean asking her to give up her course for her offense. 'After a fundamental re-evaluation,' the dean explained, he had come to believe that 'the contemporary free rein of ideas is not such an absolute value that it overrides all others.'

That was in 1972. Since then there has been some improvement in the media, and we since then the pressure for "political correctness" has increased on campuses, and the restrictions placed by university administrations on their faculties have generally grown tighter. The power of the Left among the faculty has become even more entrenched, but there is hope in the fact that a number of students now seem ready to question what the faculty members, often aging members of the radical student groups of the 60s, are telling them. In light of all this it behooves us to remember now what one of the more insightful writers of *The Wall*

Street Journal (in a May 4, 1972 editorial) wrote two decades ago: "when freedom of speech is seriously endangered in respect of any scientific enquiry into heredity and race [something that is identifiable only in terms of heredity], the concept of freedom of speech has become highly selective ... what scale of values is it that ostracizes anyone willing to give an hour's platform to Dr. Shockley, who holds some ideas that strike us as curious but is after all a Nobel Laureate? What scale of values then defends freedom of expression for Abbie Hoffman or Gus Hall and finds redeeming social value in 'O Calcutta!'? Just what set of values is it the university community speaks for?"

10 / CONCLUSION

After his death, the eminent British psychologist, Sir Cyril Burt, who was perhaps the leading pioneer of IQ testing and twin studies, was widely accused of having falsified his evidence in an orchestrated campaign which even alleged that he had invented some 53 pairs of monozygotic (identical) twins whom he had reported testing. Since then, further research, notable among which is Robert B. Joynson's book, *The Burt Affair* (Routledge, 1989), has essentially vindicated his memory. The problem is that immediately following his death his accumulated data was destroyed on the recommendation of a colleague who opposed his theories – and with the destruction of his records it became impossible to prove either the validity of the charges made against him or his data.

Many of Burt's records which had not already been published were lost to history, but what was remarkable was that Burt had hit upon a scientifically and logically foolproof method of determining the extent to which human behavior is shaped by genetic as distinct from environmental factors: this was the study of the behavior of identical twins reared in different environments. Even more surprising was that the data he reported from his own research in this area were closely similar to those obtained by the more recent, extensive and fully documented, computerized research carried out at the Minnesota Center for Twin and Adoption Research at the University of Minnesota. Significant, also, is the fact that the Minnesota research was primarily facilitated by private funding from courageous foundations such as the New York Pioneer Fund – which has been severely libelled by extreme Leftist activists, sometimes with the willing collaboration of minor journalists anxious to get any story into print.

Despite early scientific Luddite attempts at disruption documented in an earlier chapter, the Minnesota study has been one of the great successes of modern American science, and is destined to result in an eventual rewriting of the entire framework of social theory. If truth prevails in our society, social science and social and political philosophy will eventually be obliged to take cognizance of the fact that human behavior is subject to the laws of causality,

just like other matter throughout the universe. It is now clear that genetic factors set the potential limits of behavior by the human animal, while environmental circumstances and events influence the individual organism within the potential limits of its behavior as determined by heredity. Not that one can say that either is more important than the other. Environment and heredity are two different categories of causal factors which intertwine and interact. Even to ask which is the more important can be a misleading question – just as it is to ask which is more important, the cart or the horse?

Yet there is a vitally significant difference between genetics and environment, a difference which raises eugenic considerations to a level of superior concern. One can enhance the environmental component of intelligence by creating a more favorable environment for the next generation, but this is only a temporary boost, and must be maintained at the heightened level for each successive generation. Its effect is not intergenerational as the Lysenkoists believed. By contrast, an improvement in the genetic constituency of a population is permanent, unless eliminated by new dysgenic forces. A genetic improvement is an intergenerational improvement, and genetic or dysgenic decline represents a genetic loss which is likewise transmitted inter-generationally. Unfortunately, a single generation of severe dysgenic decline can destroy tens of thousands of years of evolutionary progress laboriously achieved by means of natural selection – and thus constitutes a permanent blight on posterity.

The technique adopted by the Minnesota twin studies research project is simple and incontrovertible. A search is made to locate identical twins that had been separated at birth, usually by adoption, and reared in different environments. In all, close to 400 sets of twins, identical and fraternal, have been studied. All of those studied have been reared in disparate environments, ranging from wealthy to poor adoptive families, and even in different continents, such as England and Australia. Many of those studied had not even known of the other twin's existence. Over the past ten years, Bouchard and his colleagues – prominent among whom were Professor M. McGue of the Institute of Human Genetics at the University of Minnesota, and Professors D.T. Lykken and Nancy L. Segal of the Department of Psychology – brought more than one hundred sets of reared-apart identical twins (and triplets) to Minneapolis, where they were subjected to a week of intensive

physiological and psychological assessment, involving an extensive physical examination, including records of their pulse rates, brain waves, and even body language, batteries of psychological and intelligence tests, and the completion of questionnaires about their interests, habits, values and preferences. Analysis of the data revealed that around 70% to 80% of the recorded variance in ability to score highly in IQ tests was associated with genetic factors.

Other twin studies have replicated these findings, while some, such as that conducted by Robert Plomin of Pennsylvania State University, have indicated somewhat lower heritability (around 50% being the lowest estimate), but none have been supported by the extensive battery of testing procedures employed at Minnesota. All other physiological and behavioral characteristics were substantially determined by heredity, the heritability of most physiological qualities being even higher than intelligence, which seems to represent a complex pattern of forces not yet fully understood. Clearly such directly biological qualities as blood groups are directly controlled by heredity and are not affected by environment in any way.

Setting such findings against studies of siblings reared in the same family and siblings reared apart reveals clearly the role of genetics. Siblings do not share identical heredity, and their variance is so great that the environmental influence of a common family and social class background may exert a greater effect than heredity. Adopted children adhere much more closely to the behavioral patterns of their parents than to the environmental demands of their adoptive families. Identical twins reared in quite disparate settings, one in a lower middle class working home in London and the other attended by servants in a country house and sent to an expensive private school, proved to differ from each other by only one point in IQ tests.

Even more significantly for the future of social science and social policy, it is revealed that heredity plays a powerful role in shaping almost every testable personality trait. Impulsiveness, aggressiveness, traditionalism and social alienation, all measurable by personality tests, have been shown by the Minnesota twin studies program to be largely hereditary. Thus a conservative, an authoritarian, or a liberal nature, as well as rebelliousness, and aggressiveness, even political preferences, seem to have heritable biological roots.

This may be extrapolated to indicate racial differences in personality as well as in IQ. The Japanese, for example, may have inherited distinctive personality qualities which, if only as a matter of degree, would have expressed themselves in the distinctive qualities of Japanese cultural history. Peoples from other races or genetic stock may be expected to possess heritable personality traits which incline them in the direction of other forms of social and political behavior and/or cultural expression. This possibility in no way rules out the importance of environmental influences, and accords well with accepted principles of biological evolution and natural selection. It will therefore henceforth be reasonable to speculate on – or even attempt to devise systems of investigation that will help to explain – the extent to which disparate hereditary traits have been responsible for shaping the rich quilt of cultures and civilizations achieved by the diverse subspecies and broad range of ethnic amalgams that have contributed to the history of *Homo sapiens sapiens*.

Other major developments that have served to clear the path for the development of an unpoliticized science of man, free from Lysenkovian distortions, have taken place in the areas of medical science and molecular biology. While these do not relate directly to IQ, they have led scholars to the realization that human beings, like all other forms of life, are subject to the principles of causality that govern the universe – including genetic causality. Leon Kamin, faced with the results of these studies, still seems to confuse the issue with "smoke and mirrors," telling a *Rolling Stone* journalist (*Rolling Stone*, Nov. 19, 1987) that: "The genetic interpretation is getting a much warmer reception now than it would have gotten twenty years ago, because it suits the temper of the times. If you decide that social problems like poverty and crime are genetic, you don't have to do anything about them – people want to forget that there is an environmental influence on behavior as well." Of course, the Minnesota project is as much about environment as genetics, and is computerizing the data it collects to estimate the degree of environmental influence on the 300 items in its Multidimensional Personality Questionnaire, but Marxist theory dies hard, and Kamin's remark reflects the old emphasis on exploitation and class warfare which we have talked about at length in this book.

Modern medical research has increasingly shown that genetic factors determine the degree of probability that in specific circumstances an individual will be susceptible to certain diseases

or may fall victim to certain infections. While some diseases have been shown to be totally genetic in origin and transmission, susceptibility to infectious diseases also varies according to the inherited physiology of the individual. Heredity is also the fundamental basis of racial differences, and to the extent that races still exist – despite considerable race-mixing in some societies – racial differences in the nature of the skin, the brain, or the other organs that comprise the working parts of our bodies are of social and medical significance. Indeed, one black organization recently complained that white doctors do not take the trouble to study black physiology (they cited the subject of skin diseases), and argued that blacks treated by white doctors are therefore suffering from societal "discrimination." This claim would have been regarded as ridiculous in the years just after World War II, when black claims for equality were based on arguments that race was a sheer invention and that race differences were insignificant.

Extensive studies of diverse genetic markers, including research into blood group patterns, have been carried out to determine the historical degrees of relationship between different human groups. Jewish scholars, in particular, have carried out impressive research into the extent of the genetic relationship linking Jewish communities from Western and East Europe with those from North Africa, Ethiopia, the Yemen, Iraq, and India. From such studies of genetic similarity (or dissimilarity due to mixture with local populations over the generations), considerable insight can be obtained into the history of a people who have become separated during the course of time and diversified as a result of hybridization, disparate evolution or even genetic drift over a number of generations.

But more convincing by far is the breakthrough in molecular biology, and the rapid progress that is being made in constructing a human genome map. Genetic linkage maps are being constructed mapping identified genes (including those responsible for the transmission of human defects) and anonymous DNA segments which cannot as yet be tied to specific physiological qualities. The "state of the art" Human Genome Project is described in popular terms in *Science* (Volume 250, Oct. 12, 1990). Such projects have already led to the identification of hundreds of human loci assignable to specific human chromosomes and the compilation of a data base that contains information for 6652 loci (including anonymous DNA segments).

These findings have significant implications for eugenics. As the study of medical genetics advances, it is inevitable that common sense will eventually lead to the acceptance of some degree of eugenic practice as a necessary and moral basis for medical decisions. These findings also tend to validate the suspicions of the early eugenicists, deprecatingly dubbed the "mainline eugenicists" by Kevles and his kind, to the effect that if mankind wishes to ensure a happy future for its offspring – a future in which there is sufficient talent to cope with the problem of pollution and overpopulation – urgent attention must be given to eugenic concepts with regard to the general level of intelligence from one generation to the next.

The normally cautious Nobel Prize-winning geneticist Sir Julian Huxley prophesied as early as 1941 (in his book entitled *The Uniqueness of Man*), "Once the full implications of evolutionary biology are grasped, eugenics will inevitably become part of the religion of the future, or whatever complex of sentiments may in future take the place of organized religion." This writer is inclined to wonder whether he was not overly optimistic concerning the rationality of man, since Sir Julian was still living, perhaps, in the shadow of that same Victorian optimism about man's ability to utilize scientific knowledge to rationally purposeful ends that inspired Sir Francis Galton and Karl Pearson to promote the eugenics movement in Britain. Nevertheless, the idea of eugenics is bound to impact on members of the medical profession in the course of time, and may yet enjoy a revival of popularity among those whose conscience is not narrowly restricted to the interests of the present generation, but extends further into the future to reflect on the wellbeing of those numberless generations of human beings still to be born.

Reflecting on the genetic well-being of future generations, as Robert Klark Graham did in 1970 in his book *The Future of Man* (Christopher Publishing House) or Raymond Cattell did more recently in 1987 in *Beyondism: Religion from Science* (Praeger), some present-day eugenicists emphasize the need to breed a sufficient number of people of high IQ capable of coping with the increasing complexity of further research into science, while others such as William J. Andrews, in his article "Eugenics Revisited" (*The Mankind Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 31, Spring 1990), emphasize the need to maintain the overall *average* level of intelligence, warning that if the average level of intelligence in a modern complex society is too

low, the entire infrastructure may collapse. Both are correct – and the hour is late indeed.

While the level of scientific research into medical genetics, behavior genetics and the human genome has already advanced far enough to eliminate any residue of Lysenkoism among serious students in the "hard sciences," there is still considerable Marxist-Lysenkoist political influence among those who teach the social sciences, among career-conscious and therefore politically-oriented university administrators, in the media, and most significantly, among elected law-makers. This will take time to die, especially while Marxist thinking on biology continues to persist in corners of the academic world and in the media.

Neo-Lysenkoism will not die easily. Indeed, with the growing influence of minority racial groups in America and Western Europe (who will not always remain "minorities" and who have a political interest in denying the importance of heredity), one may well ask how long neo-Lysenkoism may yet continue to influence the political scene. Those who have the education, the ability and the desire to comprehend the implications of what we now know about the role of heredity in determining both individual and group differences are a very small minority, and many of these are reluctant to sacrifice their careers by speaking out publicly. This author is not ready to attempt any prediction as to how soon or how far sound thinking about genetics will impact on the real world of political reality – or whether we may ever hope to reshape our laws and social practices into a logical system more in harmony with the laws that govern evolution and even human nature itself. Only one thing is sure: a society which sets itself against the immutable laws of biology, causality and evolution will be an unsuccessful society. An unrealistic and inappropriate culture can have negative survival value, and will eventually destroy the society that supports it if it promotes dysgenic biological trends.

The Upright Y-axis

In light of all these developments, the false accusations of political bias launched by the Radical Left against essentially non-political scholars who study the relationship between heredity and intelligence – and launched, too, by those in the media who prefer to cite Marxist authors such as Lewontin and Gould, and Left-leaning activists such as Jerry Hirsch and Barry Mehler – are perhaps best answered by the anecdote which Arthur Jensen likes

to recount about his now-deceased colleague, William Shockley. A devoted scientist, Shockley was rather irritated by such terms as "Left-Right" and "Liberal-Conservative," and Jensen recollects that:

> One night at a dinner party at which I was present with Shockley and several others, someone said to Shockley: 'Bill, I just can't figure you out. On some issues, such as your advocacy of liberalized abortion laws, you seem to be on the Left and take an extreme liberal position, and on other issues, such as your interest in eugenics and belief in the importance of heredity in human quality, you seem to take a Rightist or very Conservative position.'
>
> Shockley looked a bit annoyed by this observation and replied rather impatiently: 'My position on various issues may seem inconsistent to you, but it's because I simply don't operate on the lowly X-axis of Left-Right or Liberal-Conservative. I operate entirely on the upright Y-axis.'
>
> 'And what is that?' his questioner asked.
>
> Shockley replied: 'The application of scientific ingenuity to the solution of human problems.'

That, after all, is what the goal of pure science should be. Those who seek to censor scientific enquiry in the interest of political ideologies endanger the future of humankind. *Homo sapiens sapiens* has come to depend upon rational thought and accurate knowledge for its very survival. If scientists are forbidden to ask questions about issues that affect the future of humankind, or debate the implications of the data they have recorded for fear that the answers might not please all who hear them, then humankind will never again be able to respond to that wholly wise – and vitally essential – classical Greek admonition, "Know Thyself."